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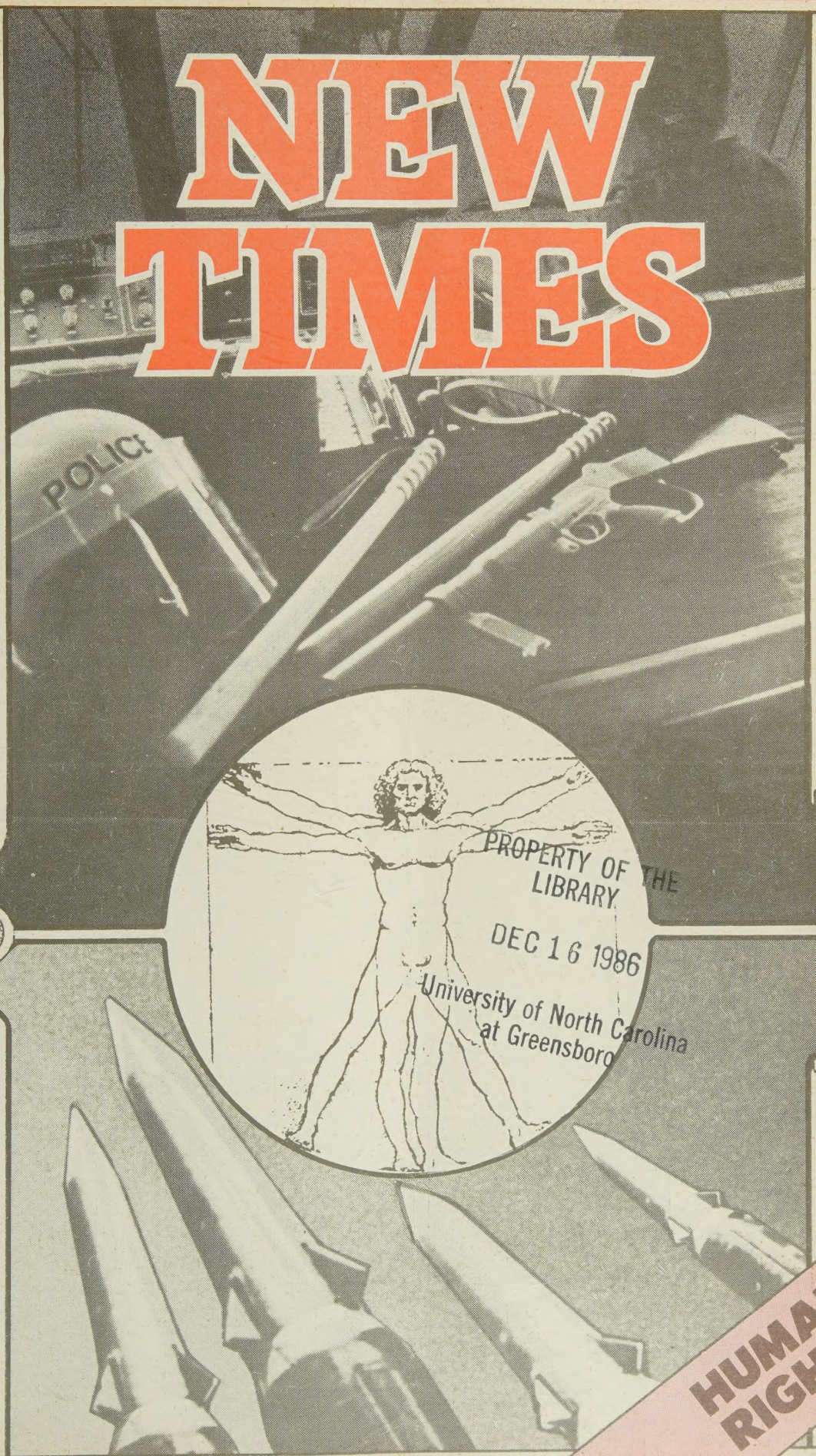
NEW TIMES



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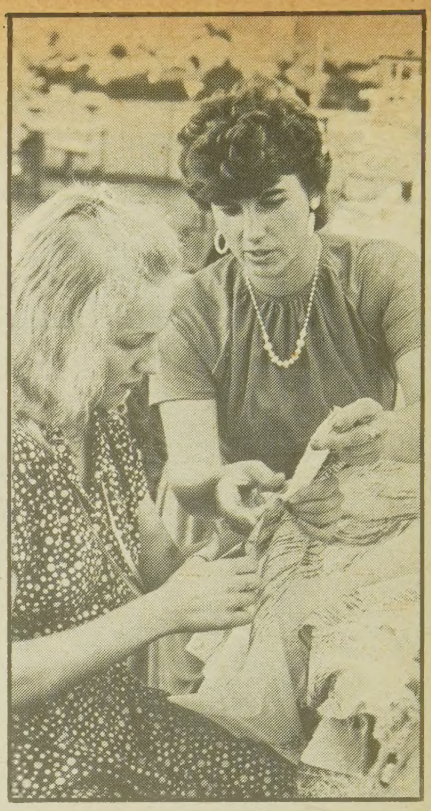
HUMAN RIGHTS

Considering new models.



The Baltia garments amalgamation (Kaunas) is linked with the shop by direct contract.

"N" for Novelty

How to find a shortcut from the producer to the consumer? This question is being answered by an experiment underway in the light industry and retail trade of the Lithuanian Republic. The factories involved market their output without intermediaries, by direct contract with the shops.

To be well dressed, to find a suit or outfit measuring up to the latest dictates of the mode, the place to go in Kaunas is Reda, a shop opened recently in that city. It is a sort of testing ground for the output of all 32 of the republic's light industry enterprises. Reda has concluded direct contracts with many of them. Besides offering a wide range of goods in demand, the shop gives what might be called a "trial run" for practically all items marked "N" for novelty that have been put on the market. Registering the consumer-appeal of goods and demonstrating new models have become part of the day's work at Reda.

The everyday wear offered by Reda is in great demand.

TASS photos

Delhi Declaration

on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World

Today humanity stands at a crucial turning point in history. Nuclear weapons threaten to annihilate not only all that man has created through the ages, but man himself and even life on Earth. In the nuclear age, humanity must evolve a new mode of political thinking, a new concept of the world that would provide reliable guarantees for humanity's survival. People want to live in a safer and a more just world. Humanity deserves a better fate than being a hostage to nuclear terror and despair. It is necessary to change the existing world situation and to build a nuclear-weapon-free world, free of violence and hatred, fear and suspicion.

The world we have inherited belongs to present and future generations, and this demands that priority be given to universally accepted human values. The right of every nation and every person to life, freedom, peace and the pursuit of happiness must be recognized. The use or threat of use of force must be abandoned. The right of every people to make its own social, political and ideological choices must be respected. Policies that seek superiority by some over others must be renounced. The expansion of nuclear arsenals and the development of space weapons undermine the universally accepted conviction that a nuclear war should never be unleashed and can never be won.

On behalf of more than one billion men, women and children of our two friendly countries who account for one fifth of mankind, we call upon the peoples and leaders of all countries to take urgent action to obtain a world free of weapons of mass destruction, a world without war.

Conscious of our common responsibility for the destinies of our two nations and of mankind, we hereby set forth the following principles for building a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world:

1. Peaceful coexistence must become the universal norm of international relations:

in the nuclear age it is necessary that international relations are restructured so that confrontation is replaced by cooperation, and conflict situations resolved through peaceful political means, not through military means.

2. Human life must be recognized as supreme:

it is only man's creative genius that makes progress and development of civilization possible in a peaceful environment.

3. Non-violence should be the basis of community life:

philosophy and policy based on violence and intimidation, inequality and oppression, and discrimination on the basis of race, religion or colour, are immoral and impermissible. They spread intolerance, destroy man's noble aspirations and negate all human values.

4. Understanding and trust must replace fear and suspicion:

mistrust, fear and suspicion between nations and peoples distort perceptions of the real world. They engender tensions and, in the final analysis, harm the entire international community.

5. The right of every state to political and economic independence must be recognized and respected:

a new world order must be built to ensure economic justice and equal political security for all nations. An end to the arms race is an essential prerequisite for the establishment of such an order.

6. Resources being spent on armaments must be channelled towards social and economic development:

only disarmament can release the enormous additional resources needed for combating economic backwardness and poverty.

7. Conditions must be guaranteed for the individual's harmonious development:

all nations must work together to solve urgent humanitarian problems and cooperate in the areas of culture, the arts, science, education and medicine for the all-round development of the individual. A world without nuclear weapons and violence would open up vast opportunities for this.

8. Mankind's material and intellectual potential must be used to solve global problems:

solutions must be found to such global problems as shortage of food, the growth of populations, the elimination of illiteracy, and environmental protection through the efficient and appropriate uses of the resources of the Earth. The world's oceans, the ocean floor as well as outer space are the common heritage of mankind. A termination of the arms race would create better conditions for this purpose.

9. The "balance of terror" must give way to comprehensive international security:

the world is one and its security is indivisible. East and West, North and South, regardless of social systems, ideologies, religion or race, must join together in a common commitment to disarmament and development.

(Continued on p. 4)

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ · TEMPS NOUVEAUX · NOWE CZASY · TIEMPOS NUEVOS

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49 December 15, 1986

Founded 1943

1 Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World

3 Bold New Approach

5 U.S. Breaches SALT-2

10 Perez de Cuellar on the International Year of Peace

16 Soviet Seismologist on the Test-Monitoring Project

17 Soviet and Japanese Journalists' Round-Table Discussion

18 December 10—Human Rights Day

27 Background Note on GATT

28 On the Olympic Scene

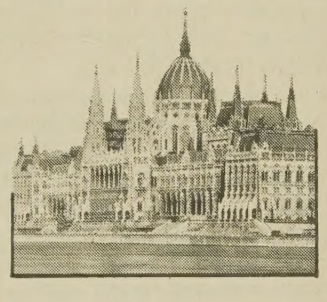
PANORAMA (6), NOTES, REMARKS (16), APPOINTMENTS (31).

Cover by N. Shcherbakov

SAGA OF A MYTH

Fictions and fantasies of the "star wars" brigade

p. 11



HUNGARY—

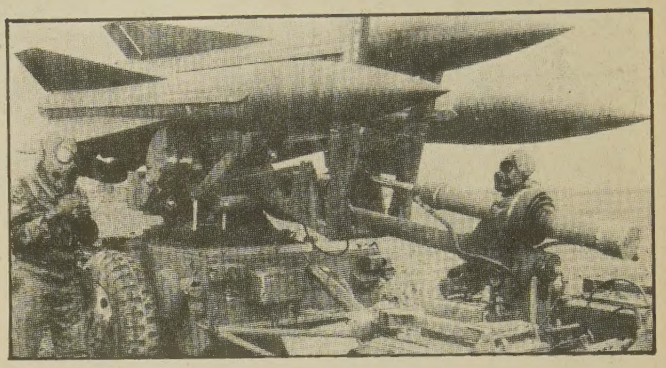
New electoral law

p. 14

GATT: THE EIGHTH ROUND

And who is obstructing Soviet participation

p. 26



WASHINGTON'S SECRET GAMES

The scandal over the secret arms supplies to Iran and the contras

p. 9

SINISTER LEAGUE

Spotlight on the activities of the World Anti-Communist League

p. 20

WOLE SOYINKA

The first African to win the Nobel Prize for literature

p. 30

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BOLD NEW APPROACH

It had not been provided for by the protocol. On his way to the airport, Mikhail Gorbachev asked the driver to stop the car and walked over to the cheering Delhi residents lining both sides of the road. Neither the General Secretary of the CPSU nor his interpreter managed to catch the name of the boy holding a placard that read in Russian: "Russian friends, we are together today and forever!" His name was drowned in the chorus of thousands of voices chanting, "Come again!"

The roses with which the Delhi streets had been adorned for the distinguished guest's arrival came into full bloom over the four days of the visit. And the thousands of rosebuds the hospitable hosts had arranged on a Delhi square to represent two flags—the Indian and the Soviet—blossomed so that the flagstaffs intertwined.

The Delhi Declaration and the joint statement are the quintessence of the talks and negotiations between Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi on a wide range of questions. These documents issued from the two countries' innovatory approach, creative spirit and boldness in dealing with vital political problems.

The Soviet Union and India are firmly convinced that safeguarding peace and eliminating the threat of a nuclear holocaust are now tasks of prime importance to the whole of mankind. Proceeding from this conviction, the Soviet Union and India signed the Delhi Declaration, addressed to all nations, the whole world. The declaration has already become an object of close study in foreign capitals. The ten principles it contains add up to a veritable peace charter. It aims at asserting on the planet the idea of peace as the supreme value. Both the Soviet Union and India have the moral right to address this appeal to all mankind. The provisions of the declaration and the principles underlying it are not merely good intentions. The Soviet Union and India are already abiding by them in their foreign policy activities.

The Delhi Declaration emerged from consultations between the two countries provided for by the Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1971. This treaty is not only the bedrock on which our relations are founded. It is a full-blooded manifestation of the reality of our times, a graphic and instructive example of what international relations throughout the Asian-Pacific region should be like.

Relations between the Soviet Union and India are characterized by a high degree of mutual understanding and trust. By force of their example they help to assert the principles of peaceful coexistence, pave the way for international cooperation, and demonstrate the possibility of resisting imperial ambitions and neoglobalist schemes. In the course of the Delhi dialogue, Rajiv Gandhi fully agreed with the Soviet Union's view that SDI—and SDI alone—had blocked the path to agreements in Reykjavik. He stressed that India was resolutely opposed to the militarization of space. The U.S.S.R. and India are committed to star peace, not "star wars."

Speaking in the Indian parliament, Mikhail Gorbachev suggested that the developing countries be drawn into peaceful space research. This purpose would be served, he said, by setting up in India an international space research centre complete with a cosmonaut training school and a site for launching peaceful space vehicles. Asked at a press conference on the following day what he thought of the idea, Rajiv Gandhi replied that he considered it fine and feasible.

For each nation peace begins at home—which, in the case of both India and the Soviet Union, is Asia. Soviet territory occupies one third of this vast continent.

Consequently, much attention was paid during the Delhi dialogue to the situation in the Asian-Pacific region. Rajiv Gandhi pointed out that the proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok had given a significant impulse to the search for ways of ensuring peace and stability in that part of the world. Gandhi urged a more active exchange of views among Asian-Pacific states for the purpose of laying the groundwork for cooperation. The Prime Minister said these countries could attain their objective—harmonious relationships—by advancing towards it step by step.

The negotiations revealed that the Soviet Union and India are largely at one on ways to improve the situation in the Asian-Pacific region and, consequently, can cooperate in this important matter. Both the U.S.S.R. and India favour making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. Delhi is actively working for détente in Southeast Asia and for the establishment of a zone of peace, cooperation and stability in the

Delhi Declaration

on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World

(from p. 1)

International security can be guaranteed through the adoption of integrated measures in the field of nuclear disarmament, using all available and agreed measures of verification and confidence-building measures, just political settlement of regional conflicts through peaceful negotiations and cooperation in the political, economic and humanitarian spheres.

10. A nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world requires specific and immediate action for disarmament:

it can be achieved through agreements on:

—the complete destruction of nuclear arsenals before the end of the century;

—non-proliferation of all types of weapons to outer space, which is the common heritage of mankind;

—banning of all nuclear weapons tests;

—prohibition of the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction;

—banning of chemical weapons and destruction of their stockpiles;

—reducing the levels of conventional arms and armed forces.

Pending the elimination of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union and India propose that an **international convention banning the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons** should be concluded immediately. This would become a major concrete step towards complete nuclear disarmament.

Building a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world requires revolutionary transformation of outlook and the education of people and nations in the spirit of peace, mutual respect and tolerance. The propaganda of war, hatred and violence should be forbidden and hostile perceptions with regard to other nations and peoples abandoned.

Wisdom lies in preventing the accumulation and aggravation of global problems which, if not solved today, would require even greater sacrifices tomorrow.

The danger that threatens mankind is grave. But mankind has the power to prevent a catastrophe, and to pave the way to a nuclear-weapon-free civilization. The peace coalition embracing the efforts of the non-aligned movement and of the Six nations, of all peace-loving countries, political parties and public organizations is gaining strength, thus giving us reason for hope and optimism. The time for decisive and urgent action has come.

M. GORBACHEV,
General Secretary of the
CPSU Central Committee

R. GANDHI,
Prime Minister
of the Republic of India

New Delhi, November 27, 1986

region. India's policy of promoting good-neighbourly relations with South Asian countries also contributes towards the relaxation of tensions there.

In Delhi, the Soviet leader advanced a package of concrete initiatives aimed at enhancing military-political stability and improving the situation in the area of the Indian Ocean. Mikhail Gorbachev told the Indian parliament that the Soviet Union was prepared at any time to start negotiations with the United States and other non-littoral countries on a substantial reduction in naval presence and activity there. The Soviet Union has proposed to the United States and interested Asian countries negotiations on confidence-building measures in the military sphere in Asia and adjacent parts of the Indian and Pacific oceans, with a view to the sides notifying each other of impending transfers of their troops and military exercises. The U.S.S.R. voiced its readiness to participate in elaborating, on a multilateral basis, guarantees of sea and air communication safety in the Indian Ocean zone and an international convention on combating terrorism on sea and air routes there.

The Delhi meeting imparted special dynamism to bilateral Soviet-Indian relations. A new agreement on economic and technological cooperation was signed during the visit. The widest-ranging ever in the history of our business contacts, the agreement provides for Soviet assistance to India in implementing a number of new projects, some of which will be in the coal and oil industries. The iron and steel plant in Bokaro is to be modernized. As a result, plants that conform to the latest technological standards will be added to India's "new temples," as Jawaharlal Nehru once described the industrial installations built in India with Soviet cooperation. Soviet-Indian commodity turnover is to have grown by 150 per cent by the year 1992.

Cultural exchanges will increase appreciably. A protocol on the holding of national festivals in both countries has been signed. Devoted to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia and the 40th anniversary of India's independence, the festivals will last for the duration of the coming year.

"A steady promotion of friendly relations with India," the Soviet leader said, "has been, remains and will always be among our priority foreign policy objectives. Regular Soviet-Indian summit meetings are the dominant factor in our relations."

The two great countries displayed a spirit of innovation and political courage in their Delhi decisions, and backed them up with important practical moves. Therein lies the long-term—and, we feel it is safe to predict, lasting—importance of Soviet-Indian dialogue.

Alexander USVATOV,
Leonid ZHEGALOV,
our special correspondents

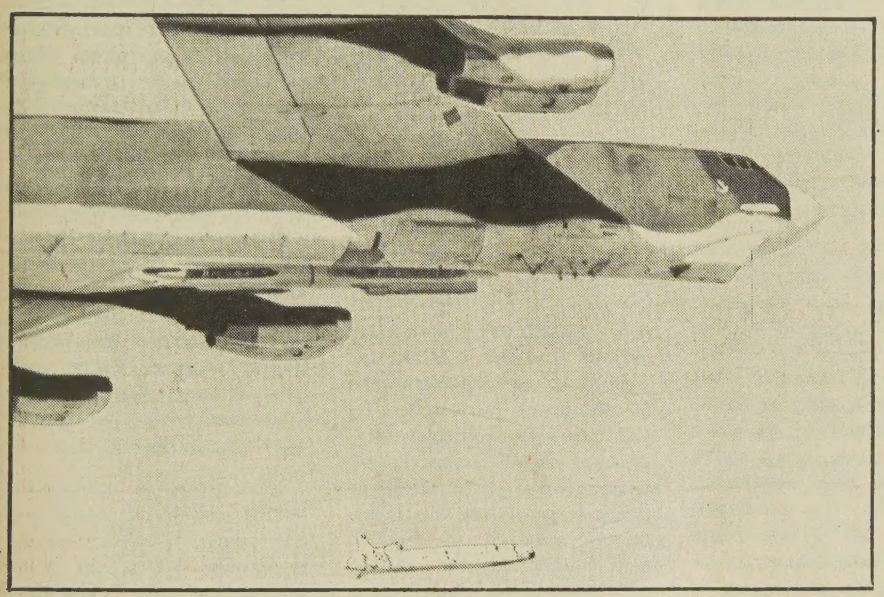
Delhi—Moscow

Washington breaches SALT-2

Irresponsible Act

At 11 hours 59 minutes on November 28, 1986, the 131st B-52 bomber took off from the Kelly air base, San Antonio, where it had been converted, and headed for the Carswell air base, Texas, to be armed with nuclear cruise missiles there. The U.S. thus exceeded the quotas set by SALT-2. The move came as part of Washington's persistent efforts to undermine the present system of strategic stability.

It will be recalled that in 1979 the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. committed themselves, in Vienna, to an agreement not to seek military superiority as it would bring only dangerous instability, generating higher levels of armaments with no benefit to the security of either party. The leaders of the two states gave this solemn pledge when signing SALT-2 in the Austrian capital. For the first time ever in the arms limitation process, the treaty set a quota of arms totals for both sides. The ceiling for intercontinental ballistic missile launchers, submarine-carried ballistic missile launchers, and heavy bombers armed with cruise missiles and air-to-ground ballistic missiles with ranges of over 600 km was set at 2,400 units.



Since the signing of SALT-2, the opponents of disarmament in Washington have been determined to destroy the letter and spirit of the treaty which they find abhorrent. First, the Senate refused to ratify it. Subsequently, efforts were made to bury the treaty by which both sides had agreed to abide.

Here is an example. In June 1985 the National Security Council met in a session to decide the fate of SALT-2 which interfered with the commissioning of the latest weapons. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger, a civilian, objected to it on the grounds that it was "senseless." Even the Joint Chiefs of Staff winced at the epithet. The generals were more discreet and suggested to the President that the U.S. should observe the treaty, but feel free to violate some of its provisions.

A year later the issue of SALT-2 observance cropped up again, in connection with the routine testing of another Ohio-type submarine. At that time the White House did not venture beyond the limits set by SALT-2, but threatened to do so when arming another B-52 with cruise missiles. "The President has travelled the last mile, we are no longer bound by that flawed agreement," Weinberger said. The last mile was travelled late in November. The breaching of the treaty caused a considerable stir. The traditional allusions to SALT-2 violations by the Soviet Union did not work this time—many Congressmen were indignant at the White House's arbitrary decision. The Senate and the House of Representatives supplemented a war budget bill with a call to the government to continue to observe SALT-2 which, in their opinion, served the interests of U.S. security. Many U.S. allies in NATO also insisted on its observance, as had been the case on many previous occasions.

What is making Washington bust the treaty now that Reykjavik has held out the prospect of getting the nuclear disarmament issue out of its blind alley and that Soviet initiatives have won widespread recognition? One thing is clear: Washington is determined to undermine the opportunities of reaching an agreement. By showing open defiance to the Soviet Union, it incites us to complicity in the arms race and seeks to wrest concessions from the U.S.S.R. at negotiations. Finally, the move is a reaction to "Irangate." Responsibility for it is borne not so much by the President, of course, but by those whose interests he represents. It is the forces behind him that are gambling on international stability, unmindful of the dangerous consequences their actions could have both for the American people and the world.

The U.S. Administration's decision is commented upon, at our request, by Lieutenant General Victor PAVLOV:

"The decision to breach SALT-2 is a new manifestation of U.S. power politics. I would call it a reckless move dictated, to my mind, by the interests of the military-industrial complex who are seriously worried by the glimmer of a hope of reaching an agreement emanating from Reykjavik. Washington has plainly demonstrated its intention to reduce to nought the progress made in the field of arms limitation and reduction in the 1970s, and at the Reykjavik summit.

"A legitimate question arises: how can one reach a new agreement by trampling previous ones underfoot? It is time the U.S. leadership realized that SALT-2 is of equal benefit to the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Attempts to justify this adventurist move by allusions to imaginary violations of the treaty by the U.S.S.R. are untenable. I think Washington should harbour no illusions as to any possibility of gaining military superiority over the Soviet Union in that way. We shall certainly never allow the military-strategic balance to be upset. By undermining the SALT treaty the White House bears full responsibility for all the adverse consequences this move may have."

■

Photo from U.S. News and World Report

U.S.S.R.—BENIN

Shared Views

● THE SOVIET-BENIN SUMMIT TALKS IN MOSCOW COVERED A WIDE RANGE OF TOPICS—FROM INTERNATIONAL AND AFRICAN PROBLEMS TO BILATERAL RELATIONS.

The official friendly visit to Moscow over November 21-27 of Mathieu Kérekou, chairman of the Popular Revolution Party, President and head of the government of the People's Republic of Benin, attracted much attention, especially in Africa. At his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev and at his talks with the Soviet delegation headed by Andrei Gromyko, key international issues, the fight for peace and disarmament and the national and social advance of the newly free countries were discussed.

Benin is a non-aligned country with a population of 3.7 million, a country which, under the leadership of the Popular Revolution Party, is effecting progressive changes aimed at building a society of social justice. Benin has come a long way from the "slave coast," as this land was called by colonialists in the past. Its prestige is based on the solid foundation of its tangible achievements in national upbuilding and on its firm policy of defence of peace, freedom and progress.

"The continued buildup of arms, in particular nuclear, the growing danger of the arms race spreading to outer space, and the aggravation of crisis situations in different parts of the world call for the decisive and persistent efforts of all states, big and small, to strengthen international peace and security, remove the threat of nuclear war, and renounce the policy of confrontation," states the declaration on friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Benin adopted in the course of the visit.

There is an African saying that "by combined effort even a lion can be stopped." And another: "A lion can be bound even with a thread if the thread is woven together." The talks in Moscow demonstrated that representatives of big and small countries, if they act in a spirit of equality and with a high sense of responsibility, can make a common contribution to international security. "The implementation of the Soviet peace initiatives," President Kérekou said, "would make it possible to create a comprehensive system of international security, abolish nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons and bring about a qualitatively new situation in the world."

Pointing to the significance of the Moscow talks, the Benin national radio Voice of the Revolution noted the firm conviction shared by the Soviet Union and Benin that the militarist principle of armaments instead of development must be replaced by the principle of disarmament for development. The imperialist forces are out to retard and even to reverse the progressive processes under way in the newly free countries. There is abundant evidence of this: an aggressive sally against Benin has already been undertaken by agents of imperialism. The participants in the Moscow talks expressed solidarity with all progressive forces that reject the imperialist policy of aggression. A common position was adopted with regard to the need to extirpate the disgraceful system of apartheid and to grant Namibia independence without further delay.

The Soviet Union and Benin agreed to meet regularly for consultations on international problems and questions of bilateral relations. There is every indication that Soviet-Benin relations of friendship and cooperation will continue to develop in breadth and depth.

V. KOROCHANTSEV

POLAND

Congress of Reconstituted Trade Unions

● THE RECONSTITUTED TRADE UNIONS OF POLAND HELD THEIR FIRST CONGRESS IN WARSAW LATE LAST MONTH.

The Reconstituted Trade Unions is the name delegates assembled for the second conference of the Polish trade union centre chose for themselves on the opening day of the forum of this largest mass organization. This title reflects present realities inasmuch as the 1,480 delegates in attendance represented all 133 labour federations, integrating 26,000 trade union organizations. The event is graphic proof that the country has reached the end of the thorny chapter during which the Polish trade unions were reconstituted after the crisis of 1980-81, provoked by the activities of anti-socialist forces.

Whereas in late 1982, shortly after the Sejm passed the law on trade unions, membership had been under a million, today the total membership has almost reached 7 million.

The first worker activists did not have an easy time when they undertook to form the new unions. The nation was just emerging from a deep-seated crisis. Backed by the powerful propaganda sallies of Western subversive centres, the anti-socialist underground sought to foment an atmosphere of mistrust and confusion. Workers still had vivid memories of the mistaken policy vis-à-vis the trade unions, and the efforts of anti-socialist forces to distort the character of trade union activity and exploit such activity to generate anarchy and disorder, and paralyze the economy. For this reason, addressing the congress of the reconstituted trade unions of Poland, Wojciech Jaruzelski cordially thanked "the pioneers of the reconstituted trade union movement who had so courageously and sagaciously undertaken to build up the movement."

Delegates adopted a programme of the reconstituted trade unions of Poland which will provide the groundwork for their activity. It notes: the Centre is the country's largest organization of working people. Though it numbers men and women of diverse outlooks and origin, they share a recognition of the constitutional principles of the socialist state and the leading role played by the Polish United Workers' Party, and concern for the country's future and the welfare of the working people.

The programme outlines the unions' strategic objectives and concrete tasks. They are to take an active part in implementing the decisions adopted by the PUWP at its 10th Congress to boost the economy, improve the conditions of work and the living standards of workers and their families, promote housing, ensure the principle of socialist social equity, take good care of veteran workers and pensioners, protect public health and the environment.

The congress passed special resolutions on each of these issues, which are of great concern to the broad working masses.

Plenary sessions, sittings of the committees and meetings of working groups were all businesslike and critical. A total of 487 delegates spoke, while another 120 submitted

proposals in written form. Pressing economic and social issues were raised. There was criticism of the activities of the centre leadership, Sejm deputies and the government's representatives. Concrete solutions were proposed to improve the state of affairs throughout the country.

Many speakers said it was vital to do everything conceivable to safeguard peace. The new programme of the reconstituted Polish trade unions states: "Essential to our activities on the international scene is the common effort to preserve life on earth, uphold peace, secure general disarmament, enforce the rights of all working people and promote social progress." Many thanked the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for the help extended to the nation in its time of trial, and the support given to the newly emerging trade unions. The further promotion of cooperation and exchange of knowhow with the trade unions of the fraternal socialist countries were advocated.

It was noted with satisfaction that the new unions had regained their rightful place in the World Federation of Trade Unions and in international industrial federations. The voice of the authentic representatives of Poland's working millions heard at the congress left no doubt that Western propaganda, and anti-socialist circles in the country, which exist solely by virtue of handouts from subversive imperialist centres, are doomed to failure in their effort to split the national trade union movement and reverse the process of stabilization. "There cannot and will not be further instances of political adventurism in Poland under the banner of trade unionism," Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed.

Delegates were fully aware that it would not be easy to secure the objectives set out in the programme document. Standing in the way of rapid economic recovery and improved living conditions for the working people are not only the negative consequences of 1980-81 but also the large external debt and the damage resulting from the discriminatory measures which the U.S. and some of its allies promulgated against the Polish People's Republic. The programme documents and the speeches were proof of the determination of the working masses to devote all their energies to national advancement and the effort to build a society of social justice. There was applause when miner Ryszard Zagorski from the town of Walbrzych said: "Enough of talking about Poland. Rather let us all pull together to work for Poland. We urge all those who are still not with us to join our ranks."

V. VOLKOV

Warsaw

CUBA

Communist Party Programme

● THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA ENDED IN HAVANA ON DECEMBER 2.

The session endorsed the Party Programme the draft of which had been submitted for nationwide discussion after the February session of the congress.

The Programme was thoroughly discussed by the Communists and the working people generally. More than 8,000 suggestions for amendments were made. Having carefully weighed them, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Party decided to amend 114 items of the draft and add 16 new items to it.

The ten months since the February session of the Third Congress have witnessed much that is new in the life of the country. Some far-reaching changes have been made in all areas and a bolder and more creative approach to problems has been evinced. There has been increasingly frank, open and businesslike discussion of acute problems, mistakes and shortcomings in economic management and a number of other spheres latterly brought to the fore by the Cuban leadership and the press. The final session of the congress made a substantive and principled examination of Party and national affairs, the elimination of shortcomings and advancement to new frontiers. The Cuban Communists now have a clear-cut programme of action embodying the collective experience and political will of the vanguard of the working people, a programme with which to tackle the tasks involved in the building of socialism.

The Party Programme sets the guidelines for the continued improvement of Cuban society, for its advance along the road of socialist construction on the basis of intensive social and economic development. It speaks briefly of Cuba's struggle for independence, the difficulties of building socialism in close proximity to the biggest capitalist country in the modern world. An important section of the Programme is devoted to the economic strategy of the Party. Its main objective is to complete the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism by the end of the century. The emphasis here is placed on mastering the achievements of science and technology, maximum use of national resources and the advantages of socialist economic integration and international socialist division of labour. A decisive factor of development on a qualitatively higher plane is seen in extending economic integration with the U.S.S.R. and other countries of the socialist community, the active participation of Cuba in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Particular importance is attached to ensuring the well-being of the population.

In the sphere of international relations the Communist Party of Cuba, the Programme notes, adheres to the principles of proletarian internationalism, stands for the unity of the socialist community and solidarity with the world socialist, working-class and revolutionary movement. One of the main foreign policy objectives is to consolidate the gains of the Cuban revolution and defend and strengthen the international positions of the country.

A. VOROPAYEV

Havana

SURINAM

Neoglobalist Pattern

● THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN SURINAM HAS AGAIN SHARPLY DETERIORATED.

A former Dutch colony on the Atlantic coast of South America, Surinam became independent 11 years ago. Its population of 360,000, notable for its variegated ethnic pattern, includes Indians, In-

donesians, American Indians, Creoles and Negroes.

The army and security forces of Surinam are at present fighting against armed anti-government groups whose area of operations has considerably expanded of late. Their leader, Ronny Brunswijk, who deserted from the national army two years ago, is out to overthrow Lt. Gen. Daysi Bouterse, whose government does not suit the U.S. and Holland.

Why are they displeased with the regime established by patriotic-minded officers in February 1980? The reason is that it removed from power the traditional bourgeois parties supported by The Hague and Washington, steered a course towards independent domestic and foreign policy, and outlined a programme of progressive social and economic reforms.

The United States, bent on aggravating the economic problems Surinam inherited from colonial times, exerts pressure on the neighbouring countries—Colombia, Venezuela and Brazil—to induce them to curtail trade and economic relations with Surinam. In line with its neoglobalist concept, the White House allocated $12 million for the "Surinam operation," in other words, for subversion against that country. Numerous adventurers of European origin as well as U.S. veterans of the "dirty war" in Vietnam turned up in Surinam. They form the kernel of the rebel forces now operating there. According to U.S. press, "the rebels are backed by wealthy Surinam exiles in the Netherlands who want to return to power here."

A. BARYSHEV

U.S.A.—SOUTH KOREA

The Lance Deployment

● WASHINGTON HAS DECIDED TO TRANSFER LANCE MISSILES TO SOUTH KOREA.

Can the decision to redeploy a Lance missile division from the United States to South Korea be considered a run-of-the-mill development, a purely internal U.S. army affair? The U.S. troops stationed in the south already have thousands of units of nuclear ammunition of various kinds—from mines to missile warheads. But there were never any weapons of this particular kind there: the operational tactical Lance missile is intended for nuclear strikes at enemy positions in the hinterland. It can also carry a neutron warhead.

It is not excluded that this decision will be followed by another: to transfer medium-range missiles to South Korea. Several years ago the idea was mooted in Washington, but no decision was taken at the time. There are grounds to assume that now things might go all the way to Pershings. It is not for nothing that official spokesmen, commenting on the Lance redeployment, predicted that "the next few years could be a very critical period on the Korean peninsula."

What has happened? Of course, Washington is disquieted by developments in South Korea where there has been an unprecedented upsurge of the popular movement for democratization of political life in the country, the withdrawal of American troops and the closing down of foreign bases. The Seoul dictator Chun Doo Hwan is feeling extremely insecure and relies exclusively on the police, the security forces and the American ally.

In this situation the Lance missiles are unquestionably intended to prop up the weakening Seoul regime. But there is every indication that the plans have wider implications. The demonstration of "power politics" is designed to reaffirm the clearly negative attitude of the U.S. to the recent initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at a peaceful settlement on the peninsula and at making it a nuclear-free zone. For the Korean people the deployment of the new missiles in the south of their country means deepening the division, piling up new obstacles to the peaceful reunification of the country and to social progress. This was stressed in the TASS statement published after the Pentagon's latest move.

Another thing worth mentioning is that this provocative step was made at the very time when the Asian and Pacific region is going through a complex stage of its development. The new initiatives advanced by the socialist countries make the possibility of the region becoming a zone of peace and stability quite feasible. Asia is not waiting for Lance missiles, it is waiting for practical actions to establish a reliable system of security in the region.

L. MIKHAILOV

Thousands of armed police dispersed a student demonstration in Seoul National University campus demanding the resignation of Chun Doo Hwan, free elections and the dismantling of U.S. military bases.

Reuter-TASS photo

Known It All Along?

YURI GUDKOV

When the affair was just getting off the ground, President Ronald Reagan behaved with his customary self-confidence. Disgusted with newspaper reports he said: "I've never heard such dissemination of misinformation since I've been here." He added that he would show up the "disseminators" of "misinformation" in his November 13 address to the nation. "Well, now you are going to hear the facts from a White House source."

But it all turned out differently. The world learned little "from a White House source," but, on the other hand, learned much about the White House itself.

The very fact of interference in Iran's internal affairs, incredible in its scale and cynicism, has certainly produced the most powerful of impressions in the U.S. However, the motives declared by the President as a desire "to bring an honourable end to the bloody 6-year war between Iran and Iraq" and "effect the safe return" of American hostages in Lebanon were seen as a clumsy attempt to conceal the true state of affairs. New York Times commentator James Reston summed the matter up as follows: "He has been playing these covert games for almost six years; the only difference now is that he's getting caught."

Small wonder that at his news conference a week later, the President was obliged to admit that "this decision is deeply controversial and that some profoundly disagree with what was done." He added: "The responsibility for the decision and the operation is mine and mine alone." There is nothing novel about this latest pronouncement. The President has said it before to stifle discussion. Unfortunately the matter is snowballing.

Nor did the first departures from the scene, those of John Poindexter, assistant to the President for national security affairs, and his staff officer Oliver North, help. The covert game has gone too far to save major pieces by sacrificing pawns. This became clear after it was learned that the money from weapon sales to Iran had been used to arm the contras operating against Nicaragua. (Afghanistan and Angola are also mentioned.)

The attempt to represent Lieutenant Colonel North as a "superman" in charge of everything and Poindexter as the negligent boss who gave him a free hand has boomeranged. Now the spotlight is on leading members of the cabinet.

Vice-President George Bush had to unseal lips kept stubbornly closed since the start of the crisis. "Without going into all that"—a familiar gambit!—he said he would not be "pulling away from support for a President." The Vice-President is in a delicate position. He is in an administration that still has two years to go and he is counting on exploiting his present office as a springboard in the 1988 presidential elections. This is one aspect of the matter. On the other hand, he is known to have personal connections with Max Gomez, the man in charge of arms deliveries to the contras.

Donald Regan, "the second man in the White House," and the President's closest aide, denies everything that can be denied, except the "noble motives" behind the intervention in Iran and Nicaragua. "Regan was notified about everything from the very start," an unnamed member of the White House staff says. "He was informed each time anything happened." He is reported to have angered "influential First Lady Nancy Reagan" and a group of the President's "Californian friends" for giving "bad advice." Now he himself intimates that he will not stay on at the White House to the end of the current Administration's term.

Secretary of State George Shultz astonished many with his behaviour. Though he was in the know as to Reagan's "diplomatic initiative," which in fact amounted to arms deliveries, he has come out against them and publicly dissociated himself from the White House from the outset. In the overall context he has proved to be least of all involved in the covert operations. In the upshot, in the view of the U.S. media, the White House cannot afford his resignation at the present moment because of the void it would create in foreign policy administration.

It looks as if William Casey, CIA director, is the same "Lieutenant Colonel North," only of ministerial rank, who held all the threads of the practical exercise of covert and illegal operations. He contacted third countries, opened a Swiss bank account for the money to buy arms for the contras, was "significantly involved" in arms sales to Iran, and supported the association of Iranian émigrés who oppose the present regime.

Such is the picture that if not "all the President's men" then at least the central figures present. Having assumed the responsibility the President now says he knew nothing about the "details" and blames the press for beginning "to play it up." "I've never seen the sharks circling like they now are with blood in the water," he exclaims.

At this point we must pause. The President's metaphor suggests another idea which can be read between the lines in the writings of many commentators. There is plenty of evidence to show that the intervention in Iran, and equally the government's covert operations in Nicaragua, started not last January, when the President endorsed the "diplomatic initiative," but much earlier. As we see, James Reston is absolutely right. Hence the question: how could operations involving several governments have remained a secret for so long? Especially when scores of millions of dollars and tons upon tons of arms were involved? One is tempted to conclude that **it had been known all along** but that there had for a time been a reluctance to make the matter public. But now the "sharks" are indeed circling.

Back from five days of seclusion on his Californian ranch, the President declared Lieutenant Colonel North a "national hero," which means he is stubbornly clinging to his policy. However, the principles, or rather lack of principle, are plain, and have far wider implications. They illuminate Washington's overall approach to international affairs. There is a deep gulf between what the Washington Administration says and what the Washington Administration does. This is not illustrated by the covert deals alone. It is also clear from the efforts to go back on the accords reached at Reykjavik, the very recent violation of the SALT-2 treaty and growing numbers of other instances. Finally, the fact that for the first time in his presidency Ronald Reagan has been confronted with mounting criticism and condemnation even from his own retinue attests to a loss of confidence both at home and internationally. And this at a time when the scandal is only "getting into its stride." ■

Together for Peace

The 41st session of the U.N. General Assembly considered the results of the International Year of Peace, noting the contribution made by nongovernmental organizations to the holding of the Year and the importance of their future cooperation with the United Nations in the establishment of a lasting peace.

Below is a slightly condensed section from the speech on the International Year of Peace delivered by U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar and circulated in the United Nations as its document.

Since 1981, when preparations for the International Year of Peace began, over 300 nongovernmental organizations and academic institutions have established contact with the secretariat for the Year. Many of these organizations have consultative status with the U.N. Economic and Social Council or are affiliated with the Department of Public Information or participate in the world disarmament campaign.

Nongovernmental organizations around the world have shown a great capacity for translating the objectives of the Year into concrete projects and activities. They have proved an important channel for international, national and local cooperation and are a valuable source of ideas and experience. In addition, the community of nongovernmental organizations provides an important link between the United Nations, governments and people at the grass-roots level.

Organizations and groups participating in the programme of the International Year of Peace represent a broad range of interests and concerns. Among these are women's organizations, youth groups, scientists, educators, religious groups, sports associations, the ageing and elderly and groups active in the fine arts. Disarmament, social and economic development, human rights and environment organizations are also taking an active part.

The diversity of nongovernmental organization approaches reaffirms the need to define peace in broad terms. Nongovernmental organization participation in the programme of the Year has highlighted that peace in the 1980s is not simply the alternative to war; a peaceful world must reflect a continuing commitment to justice, quality of life and the active and ongoing process of generating increased human understanding, dialogue and tolerance. The following selected examples of nongovernmental action for the Year of Peace will illustrate more concretely the significance of such input.

From January 20 to 24, 1986, representatives from nongovernmental organizations around the world inaugurated the International Year of Peace by gathering at Geneva to participate in the conference "Together for Peace." Over 300 representatives of national, regional and international nongovernmental organizations attended the conference, representing a variety of philosophical, political and religious backgrounds.

Several nongovernmental organizations are using the occasion of the Year to discuss the United Nations, disarmament and security issues and to give special recognition to the United Nations and its ongoing work in the field of international peace and security. Public rallies with the participation of United Nations officials were organized in the Soviet Union by the Soviet Peace Committee and in Greece by the Greek Committee for International Détente and Peace.

Cities and towns around the world have participated actively in the Year, organizing special festivals, meetings and lectures on peace issues. Mayors and town councils have issued proclamations for the Year and taken important initiatives towards greater inter-city cooperation and dialogue.... The United Towns Organization and the World Union of Martyr Cities—Cities of Peace have been instrumental in fostering local and grass-roots support for the United Nations and the objectives of the Year.

Special conferences held during the Year have stimulated discussion on various issues of peace, helping to generate greater public awareness of its interrelationship with other aspects of life. Such meetings have also encouraged consideration of how people active in particular fields might contribute to the promotion of peace. Seminars, conferences, meetings and symposia have been sponsored by organizations such as the Bangladesh National Youth Affairs Council, Inter-Parliamentary Union, International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage, International Committee of Children's and Adolescents' Movements, International Falcon Movement, International Federation of Associations of the Elderly, International Union of Students, Medical Association for Prevention of War, Socialist International, Soviet Women's Committee, Teachers for Peace, Universal Esperanto Association, World Federation of Scientific Workers, and World Peace Council. A world congress devoted to the International Year of Peace was held in Copenhagen.

Many nongovernmental organizations are sponsoring music, writing, chess and art competitions for children and young people in the context of the Year. Among them are a worldwide essay contest for students aged 13 to 16 sponsored by United Schools International, "Letters for Peace"—an international youth writing contest organized by Rotary International, and the World Youth Chess Festival sponsored by the World Chess Federation. Such competitions, together with special youth programmes and events, have encouraged reflection among young people about the meaning of peace in their own lives and how they may contribute towards that goal.

Sports events have been an important element in the observance of the Year, with many groups and organizations focussing on the value of peaceful competition in bringing about greater international understanding. Among the special events organized within the context of the International Year of Peace are Bike for Peace and the First Earth Run. Some sports associations have issued statements on sports and peace, and several organizers, such as those for the Soccer World Cup and the Goodwill Games, linked their events to the Year.

Many nongovernmental organizations have expressed a desire to build further on the framework created by the International Year of Peace. They have expressed the view that the International Year of Peace has provided a positive basis for continued and increasing interaction among governments, nongovernmental organizations and the United Nations system.

■

Saga of a Myth

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

When in Iceland, a journalist is attracted to try his hand at sagas. Perhaps, then, a saga is not inopportune.

Berthold Schwarz, a monk from Freiburg im Breisgau, is officially recognized as the inventor of gunpowder in Europe. He made his discovery in 1296. However, a remarkable episode occurred 30 years before. In 1267, Roger Bacon of the Franciscan Order sent the Pope his treatise, "De nullitate magiae" ("On the Futility of Magic"), in which he sought to deny rumours that he was a black magician. He wrote: "You can produce thunder and lightning if you take sulphur, saltpetre and charcoal, mix them together and put the mixture in a sealed barrel." The mixture was gunpowder!

It should not be concluded from the foregoing that I am trying to confirm Roger Bacon's priority. After the passage of 700 years, motives are of far greater interest than facts. The Oxford professor was a philosopher and naturalist who sought to ward off magic and defend his reputation using the methods and language of his time. What remarkable assortment: thunder and lightning, the heavenly and the mundane, lawful faith and faith declared a prejudice. What a glorious mixture! Only the most important thing is missing. An understanding of the fact that the world now stood on the brink of a tragic change in its destiny. That a little later people would stage the experiment wholesale taking saltpetre and charcoal, mixing them and putting the result in closed barrels, and that from that day forth, or at any rate for seven centuries, history would reek of gunpowder.

Perhaps the most valuable behest of the Muse of History is: Consider the consequences! Rummaging through the plethora of fervent promises, ardent explanations and assurances of good intent, show the ability to separate delusions, wilful distractions and spurious temptations from the true logic of events.

We have a very topical pretext for musing not only about the futility but also the danger of magic.

The Danger of Magic

President Reagan assures the public worldwide that he has come up with a sure way of serving humanity. His magic formula is the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). Since March 1983 he has been telling Americans to imagine having overhead a dome or umbrella shield impregnable to missiles. Surely you will sleep more calmly?

A lovely idea. After all, who objects to security?

In Reagan's words, the space shield will make nuclear missiles "impotent and obsolete." A marvellous prospect!

Wonderworkers are not to be questioned. A miracle is a matter of faith, not of common sense. Woe to doubters, for doubt kills faith. Still, at the close of the second millennium after the birth of Christ, should a nation hand over trillions of dollars and ask no questions? Some timid questions do arise.

What actually is the SDI umbrella to cover? Town and country, the nation's entire territory? Even supporters of the idea do not claim that it is feasible in practice. No man-made system, even of the most sophisticated technology, is fail-proof. Given existing arsenals, it is impossible in theory to destroy all missiles zeroing in on targets. Even were a few missiles to reach their targets, it would mean disaster.

Reagan does not bother to argue. He considers himself above the need for concrete evidence. After all, he is not a scientist. He is a visionary and he has offered his "vision of the future" to his fellow countrymen. Today people fear nuclear missiles, but—Hey, presto!—he has delivered them from this fear. Let us cry miracle! Hallelujah!

But remember that SDI-1, that is, a foolproof anti-missile defence system for a given territory, is out of the question. SDI's more mundanely-minded supporters, including Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, director of the SDI organization, speak of or intimate a limited objective. This is that SDI-2, as it has recently been called, is a shield for missiles, not an umbrella for the population. And that is quite another matter.

At the level of ideas, SDI-2 confounds SDI-1.

The idea of an umbrella for all makes it possible to believe that the centre of gravity in security strategy has shifted from offensive to defensive potential, from the possibility of wreaking vengeance after doom to the possibility of averting doom, from the principle of "mutually assured destruction" to an insurance against destruction. In plain human terms, that is unquestionably an attractive proposition.

A shield for missiles merely strengthens offensive potential; concern here is with ensuring its survival and strike capacity. Neither hide nor hair is left of the moral justification.

President Reagan and his staunch arms bearer, Defence Secretary Weinberger, heatedly assure us that they are not interested in what interests their generals. What, protect the intercontinental ballistic missiles silos? Never! Only people, only the population. That the laws of physics, mechanics and statistics are against it is of no consequence. It is a matter of principle. It may be a dream. But it is dreams that stir humanity.

The fervour with which an idea of acknowledged infeasibility is championed is understandable. It is noble to defend people. For as long as people, not missiles, vote and pay taxes, even anti-missiles should be sold in a humanitarian wrapping.

SDI-2 is just another weapon system.

SDI-1 is a dream.

With a weapon system, critics are entitled to ask what it does, how effective it is likely to be, how it will influence the balance of forces, what retaliatory measures it could provoke and, finally, how much it will cost. The 1940s atomic Manhattan project, for example, cost $15 billion in 1985 prices, while the Shuttle project cost $10 billion.

But a dream is beyond criticism, especially if it is the President's Great Security Dream, his dream of security for all. Such a dream is beyond price. SDI alone is worth at least 70 Manhattan

projects or 100 Shuttle projects or 250 Panama Canal projects. Only a dream can attract that kind of money. Dreams are invaluable!

Nothing is more profitable than fear. In this nuclear age no fear is greater than that of missiles rained down from an angry heaven. The Security Dream can be used to rob future generations now.

President Reagan must be given his due. SDI is the greatest hoax of the 20th century, the most brilliant publicity stunt in the history of the business of war, indeed, of business generally. It is the South Sea Bubble of all time.

Bluff

I understand that such accusations require proof. Wait and see what comes of the miracle, and then proudly shrug it off with a didn't-we-say-so? That won't do. After all, the question is not what will come of SDI, but whether humanity will buy the idea.

The signs of bluff are already in evidence. Has the U.S. Administration discarded its far-reaching plans to "modernize" and improve its nuclear potential? No, it has not. That is illogical, to say the least. If the President has a "vision of a future" in which missiles will be "obsolete," then why go to such lengths to refurbish the nuclear arsenal? The soothsayer who puts his money on what is about to be rendered impotent is clearly myopic. Or the prophecy is a hoax.

Some may think this cruel. How is one to explain the fact that President Reagan, who is soon to leave the White House, was so openhearted in Reykjavik that he even offered eventually to share strategic defence technology with the Soviet Union?

In the same way that an excess of coolness or nonchalance may at times betray the most straightfaced poker player, so this slushy, fantastic, utterly incredible proposal reveals the bluff behind the present U.S. stance on SDI. The President may issue verbal promissory notes, but who will pay up at a time when even his name, let alone his promises, will only perhaps be recalled by pedantic scholars of U.S. history?

Believe today and check tomorrow! A very original instalment plan: pay now, cash on the barrel, and ask for the goods decades later. Only we will not know whom to ask. And we must hope that the barrel will not go up in flames in the meantime.

In Reykjavik, Mikhail Gorbachev replied: "I cannot take this idea of yours seriously.... Today you don't even want to share oil equipment or dairy-plant equipment with us, but think that we will believe your promise to share SDI research and development with us. That would be a 'second American revolution.'... Let us be realists, pragmatists, that is more reliable."

It may be embarrassing to mention it, but the list of "strategic commodities," the sale of which to the U.S.S.R. is banned, and which should in all reason be regarded as the previous U.S. strategic defence initiative, has specified at different times in view of their extreme danger chewing gum, buttons and paper clips.... But now the "empire of evil" is promised for a smile the quintessence of research and development at top-secret laboratories.

The situation needs no special clarification. However, to allay the fears of those who took the President's promises for the real thing and decided that he was about to fritter away the nation's top secrets, Admiral Poindexter, then national security aide to the President, brought his chief's sweeping declarations down to earth. It appears "that that does not mean that we would share the technology." All that can be envisaged is "access to some sort of a command-and-control system that would command the sensors." When the chief pilot of an airliner seeks to impress the layman, he invites a select group of passengers into the cockpit to observe the mysterious winking and twinkling of hundreds of lights. However, that does not make them in any wise responsible for steering the aircraft.

Another aspect of the SDI bluff is its being presented as the ace of trumps which the Russians supposedly fear and which got them to negotiate. As a technological system, SDI, or rather its product, an anti-missile system with space-based components, would hardly scare anyone. It is a huge, complex and extremely vulnerable monster. It will have to fight more than just the imperfections in its own design, for which the only real test is a missile strike, after which it will be too late to assess its efficiency. The other side will not look on impassively, or enthusiastically examine the space-based ABM system. Having technological ability of a similar order, it will try to put it out of commission. Incidentally, it is far simpler and cheaper to destroy than to create a sophisticated system.

SDI's supporters often pathetically ask: how can one not trust man's common sense, his omnipotence, his infinite capacity to create the novel and hitherto inconceivable? After all, there were sceptics who doubted even the possibility of a moon landing. An answer to this was forthcoming: "The effort to get to the moon was not complicated by the presence of an adversary. A platoon of hostile moonmen with axes could have made it a disaster." Thus spoke McGeorge Bundy, George Kennan, Robert McNamara and Gerard Smith, all experienced and imaginative people.

The ABM system with space-based components has been termed the "Maginot line of the space age," which suggests that it could be as easily circumvented as the "impenetrable" French defence line was by German troops in 1940. Yaroslav Golovanov, the remarkable Soviet science writer, has come up with a different metaphor. "It is like the armoured train of Civil War days," he said. "Enormous, iron-clad, bristling with guns, it races along the track. But a bearded partisan can emerge from the forest, sabotage the rails with a crowbar and it will come to a halt.... Space platforms crammed with masterpieces of laser, optical and sundry other technology will revolve along strictly fixed orbits that can be computerized in a matter of seconds, and in a single instant the entire beautiful system can be destroyed with a simple vertically projected missile."

A third aspect of the SDI bluff is that it is presumed to be "a trump card at negotiations" and "the best incentive" for cutting back on strategic armaments. In Reykjavik there was a possibility of playing this trump card for the best deal in the history of negotiations on arms control. The President did more than simply refuse to do so. What he did was at the other end of the scale. He forfeited the chance of an agreement to halve and further reduce strategic systems exclusively for the sake of his project.

After Reykjavik it became clear that SDI is not a trump card, not an incentive, not a means, but the END. But what end?

The Trillion-Dollar Secret

While the trillions of dollars do not justify the end, they explain who is after that end. It is the U.S. military-industrial complex. The 70 Manhattan projects, 100 Shuttle projects, or 250 Panama Canal projects make up a most desirable bonanza. The biggest jackpot in history. For its sake the military-industrial complex will go the whole hog, distort all social priorities, and try to generate an international atmosphere beneficial to this super South Sea Bubble.

The lion's share of SDI shield contracts will unfailingly land in the lap of those same firms that are forging the missile sword. Do they really want to deprive themselves of sustenance? Nothing of the sort. The Pentagon's main contractors respond in their own way to a market oversaturated with

strategic weaponry. After all, the earth is not elastic and, alas, not eternal. It cannot hold an infinite number of megadeaths. The titans of the military-industrial complex have sensed a new market, that of the 21st century, the postnuclear age. SDI is more than simply a strategic defence system of questionable effectiveness. It is the stake of the arms-makers of the 21st century. It is the quintessence of the militarism of the future.

The economic bonanza is tremendous, but that is not enough. The arms of the future are stimulated by the ambitions of the past. The U.S. empire has lost the old nuclear arms race in the sense that it cannot win it, that it cannot achieve the desired superiority, which in 1945, after Hiroshima, seemed so near, so attainable. Instead of superiority there is "mutually assured destruction." So good-bye even to erstwhile safety! Parity is a stalemate. SDI offers new hope of a way out of the strategic blind alley. A new start in the old race which the U.S. thinks it will now win thanks to its technological genius! But why should it win the postnuclear race when it could not win the nuclear race? Do not expect a sober reply. Technological spread-eagleism makes the hotheads dizzy.

And not only technological spread-eagleism. The White House appears to believe seriously that the U.S.S.R. will not be able to keep pace with this race due to its "ineffective," "cumbersome" and "backward" economic model; that eventually, worn down, it will beg for mercy. This is a gross miscalculation, for the Soviet system's ability to concentrate its energies on a basic, vital objective has been common knowledge. However, this does not change the character of the stake. That is what SDI is!

Cleansed of the cosmetics of myth and bluff, the real face of SDI is one of menace. What, a third world war? The projection does not, one presumes, go that far. But, on the other hand, the arms race itself in its present, and, even more so, its future dimensions, has already developed into what might be termed a legitimate, acceptable form of third world war. SDI is the "wonder weapon" of a non-shooting war by means of which it is sought to bring the adversary to his knees.

Suicidal Stunt

Meanwhile a classic publicity stunt is being mounted for all to see, with the impending nightmare marketed in the wrapping of hope for all humanity. Buy SDI! Total wish fulfilment guaranteed!

Americans will get their security. Pacifists and peace-lovers will be delivered from the death-dealing atom and see long-awaited disarmament. The Japanese and the West Europeans will get a pass to the future, the technology of tomorrow, provided they behave today and don't grumble. After all is said and done, SDI is the trunk line of human progress!

Of all the fantastic justifications for "star wars," that probably takes the biscuit.

In the 20th century the most appalling things are invented in the name of progress. How effective, how murderously effective that progress is!

In a split second Hiroshima learned the A-bomb's thousandfold superiority to traditional TNT.... If London did not enthuse over the progressiveness of nazi V-1 and V-2 rockets, that was entirely due to traditional British conservatism. Missiles with multiple warheads represent a far more progressive achievement than a missile with only one warhead. True, the Midgetman single-warhead missile will represent still more sophisticated technology. Progress is truly unstoppable and all that remains for man is to applaud its heedless advance while he can.

Only unregenerate traditionalists may halt on the way to "star wars" technology. Western democracies and technocracies, don't miss the express train of progress. That this is a race in **armaments** is unimportant. The basic thing is that it is a race **to the future.** In short, per aspera ad astra, and so on.

In the meantime, wise Western rulers nod thoughtfully. No, we must not lag behind progress, there is nothing to be done, we shall have to take part in the SDI "research phase."

What specifically do they hope to achieve? At best, that in the process of the scientific industrialization of the Strategic Defence Initiative there will be spin-offs in the form of economically useful technological and technical novelties. Certainly, the military-industrial complex places every productive idea on the conveyor belt. But for some reason it is always only weapons that roll off. The American inventor of the X-ray laser, who dreamed of a medical application, fled in panic when he found himself in Livermore, where they are reaching out to the stars for the purpose of war.

At any rate, are the crumbs from the rich man's table sufficient reward for docility, manna from heaven for Washington's junior allies and partners?

Let us skip the moral aspect. But what about the cost? Trillions of dollars in cash from the American taxpayer alone! The militarization of space. The collapse of negotiations. A runaway arms race. Truly a gentleman's word is worth a great deal if the Reagan Administration hopes to drum up so much on the strength of its word alone, without collateral.

The trillions will go to the military-industrial complex. All the rest, including possible radioactive fall-out, will go to humanity as the final payment.

Only a sick society can plan such squandering for decades to come and call it a blessing. Only a very sick society can put the earth's future at risk for the sake of profits, even of an astronomical order. The Strategic Defence Initiative is the cosmic metastasis of U.S. militarism.

Travelling salesmen do not manufacture the commodities they sell; they only promote them. It was not Ronald Reagan who invented this cosmic gunpowder. The President was only too pleased to put his name to the "star wars" idea, for the sake of advertisement. Its clandestine author and absolute master is the military-industrial complex.

The categorical manner with which the appetites and ambitions of the U.S. military-industrial complex are presented as the needs and requirements of all of humanity is amazing. But is it really necessary to build a war chariot to invent the wheel? Does humanity really have nothing to which to apply its intellect and money, without further militaristic designs? Though in certain conditions sophistication of the weapons of war may be seen as a necessary burden, the price of safety, to venerate it as a vehicle of progress for the human race is certainly not in order. With such suicidally dangerous progress, we have already raced too far beyond the limits of common sense. It is high time we agreed on how to stop and, catching our breath, retraced our steps before it is too late.

Space does indeed represent a grand arena for cooperation between earthlings—as well as a platform for coping with many technical and technological problems. Why should the road to space lie through "star wars"? No, progress can take peaceful paths that are more direct.

Any other stance is madness, even if supplied with a halo of science. And no need to fear for the scientists. They will not die of hunger without SDI. At the close of the 20th century homo sapiens and sensible society must grasp the simple truth, that progress is progress only when its aims are normal, that is to say, humane.

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Achievements and Setbacks of a Hungarian Mayor

From our special correspondent
LEV BEZYMENSKY

Dr Lajos Molnar, a member of the executive committee of the town council of Vac, looked rueful.

"Yes, this time we were defeated. Our project did not get the necessary majority."

"It's that TEHO," a comely young woman, sitting beside me, added with a sigh. She introduced herself:

"I'm Böröcz Peterne, a member of the executive committee."

Accustomed as I was to Hungarians giving their surnames first, the "masculine" flavour of her given name surprised me.

"You see," she explained smiling, "until recently it was the custom in Hungary for the wife to take not only her husband's surname but his given name as well. My maiden name is Gill Maria, but my husband's name is Böröcz Peter, and so I am Böröcz Peterne, which is the feminine form of Peter. Nowadays the law allows a woman to keep her given name and even her maiden name. I use my husband's name from habit. But, of course, you want to know what TEHO means."

TEHO, I learned, is an abbreviation of the name of a programme for raising additional funds for municipal development. A new departure in Hungary, it came into being at a time when the state was short of funds to meet all the needs of the population, particularly in housing. That was how the idea of additional programmes to be financed by the townsfolk themselves appeared.

"It is not a tax," Dr Molnar explained. "It is a self-imposed levy. Our town council drafted a programme of housing construction that would be financed by every householder contributing 800 forints a year. We had the text of the scheme printed and circulated among the community. At the end of last year it was put to the vote. And we were defeated...."

"Defeated?"

"Yes. You see, for TEHO to be adopted it had to be approved by half of all the voters. Although we campaigned quite vigorously we were 300 votes short. Evidently we had not been active enough."

"Yes, we have ourselves to blame," Böröcz agreed. "But we in the town council haven't lost heart. We shall just have to work a little harder."

A Closer Look at Vac

Vac, situated on the low bank of the Danube in Pest Region, not far from Budapest, has a history that goes back centuries. It was built on the site of an ancient Slav settlement where back in the 11th century King Istvan I founded a diocese of the same name. For a long time Vac was the centre of ecclesiastical life. However, it was not unaffected by the storms of secular life: wars with the Turks, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848 (during which two major battles were fought near Vac), the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 (on March 26, 1919, the town was visited by Bela Kun), and the working-class struggles of the Horthy period. On December 8, 1944, the town was liberated by the Soviet Army, mute testimony to which is the obelisk that stands in one of its main squares.

Though not a large town, Vac has a good many important industrial enterprises, including a photochemical plant, the only one of its kind in the country, and a textile mill employing 3,000 workers.

The industrial and social development of Vac is typical of the new Hungary. Its population has increased since 1943 from 22,000 to 36,000. The growth of the industrial workforce has been even more dynamic—from 4,000 to 20,000. The townsfolk speak with pride of the hospital of 1,000 beds (the old one had only 90) and the new medical centre. The town has seven secondary schools, a large cultural centre and the famous Vox Humana choir.

The town council has its hands full, the priority concerns being construction of new housing and maintenance of the old (the centre of the town consists mainly of old buildings), public utilities and services.

"All these problems," mayor György Weisz says, "have to be tackled with a sense of heightened responsibility to the constituents. I have acquired considerable experience in my ten years of work in the town council. But now, with the new electoral law, a new approach is needed."

New System

I asked the mayor to dwell in greater detail on the new elements that had asserted themselves in the life of the town and the townsfolk in the recent period, specifically, since the 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. "The extension of socialist democracy," it was stressed in the congress decisions, "is part of the historical programme of our party." The congress discussed the outlook for the development of socialist democracy and charted methods by which government by the people could be made more effective.

"Under the new law," Weisz said, "each seat in any council is contested by no less than two candidates. Last year's election to the town council was conducted in accordance with the new law."

As before, the electoral law is based on the socialist system in Hungary and the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front which was founded more than 30 years ago. As before, the Front puts forward its election programme, but as distinct from the past, it nominates not one but at least two candidates for each seat.

"How does it work out in practice?"

"The town council consists of 57 deputies, one from each electoral district. The Front nominated 120 candidates. But they did not automatically go on ballot. Under the new law several election meetings, widely advertized in advance, are held by the Front in every district. Besides, the list of can-

didates put forward by the Front is mailed to each voter.

"The election meetings begin with a report by the deputy in office, after which the chairman presents the candidates proposed by the Front. These are then discussed."

"Only the candidates named by the Front?"

"No. Other nominations may be made by individual voters or on behalf of work collectives. After the discussion a vote is taken by a show of hands. The nominees who receive no less than a third of the votes at all the meetings in each given district are entered on the ballot."

"How did things go in Vac?"

"At the election meetings in our town most of the voters supported the Front candidates. But there were nine other nominees."

"Were they elected?"

"Eight of them were. We had obviously underestimated our own resources. In general, I see nothing terrible about the fact that the voters in some cases chose candidates other than those proposed by the Front.

"Let me say, however, that we are not idealizing the situation," Weisz went on. "Although the new system has been approved by the people, they are not making sufficient use of it. There is not enough activity at election meetings. People do not always take full advantage of the opportunity to speak up."

"How many votes did you yourself poll?"

"I got 63 per cent. But I must add that under the new system the candidate who is not elected but receives no less than 25 per cent of the votes becomes a 'reserve deputy.' In this way, if some deputy has to be replaced there will be no need to hold a by-election.

"On the whole," he concluded, "the deputies elected to the new town council are more keenly conscious of their responsibility to the electorate."

This view was confirmed by Dr Molnar and Mrs Böröcz, both of whom were elected for a second time.

"There were three candidates in my electoral district," Dr Molnar said. "I was nominated by the Patriotic People's Front. Now that I have been elected I shall have to honour all the promises I made at the election meetings. One of them has already been fulfilled: the school in the new housing development I represent on the council will get additional premises next September."

"Trust is a great thing," observed Mrs Böröcz. "It brings home to you the fact that the post of a deputy is not just a formality."

Janos Peter's Opinion

A few days after my visit to Vac I interviewed one of Hungary's veteran statesmen—Janos Peter, a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Vice-President of the National Assembly, of which he has been a member since 1953. The conversation turned to the problems involved in the development of socialist democracy. The present National Assembly, too, has been elected in conformity with the new electoral system I had been told about in Vac, but with one difference: in parliamentary elections the Patriotic People's Front advances, besides its candidates in the constituencies, a national ticket, on which about 10 per cent of the deputies (30-35) are elected. The prominent public and government leaders included in this list are elected by national vote.

Mayor Weisz at a meeting of the town council.

"We attach great importance to the development of our democracy, to the effectiveness of government by the people," Janos Peter said. "These are not simple questions under our conditions."

"Comrade Kadar said in a recent interview that Hungary has no democratic traditions to speak of."

"Well, judge for yourself. Until 1918 Hungary was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Then came the Horthy dictatorship. The new, socialist chapter in our history had to be written in the most complex circumstances. It is precisely for that reason that we must take a thoroughly considered, I would say, creative approach to the development of people's government."

"What was the assessment of the results of the elections under the new system?"

"The elections showed that the population had approved the new system. I shall not say that we fully accomplished all the objectives set. But one thing is clear—the work of parliament has improved, become more vigorous. One step further has been taken towards socialist parliamentarism. Let me explain: I consider the emergence of a new type of deputy to be a great achievement for socialism. This is not the professional politician produced by bourgeois democracy, but a true spokesman of the people closely linked with them.

"Not long ago I had a talk with some Swiss parliamentarians. 'Your deputies,' they said, 'are not politicians.' There is a tiny grain of truth in this contention. Of course, our deputies do not engage in 'big politics' in the sense that this is understood in the West. But they occupy themselves with everyday and truly 'lofty' politics that can be appreciated only by those who live in the closest contact with the people.

"Our deputies, whether members of the National Assembly or of local councils, are politicians of the people and for the people. The new system has created the best possible prerequisites for the performance of this important function. True, some of the results of the elections were somewhat unexpected."

"Which, for instance?"

"Strangely enough, parliament has grown 'older.' Formerly the average age of the deputies was 30, now it is 35. As a rule, in a choice between two candidates the elder was chosen. Also, there are fewer women: 78 instead of 100. Parliament was markedly renewed—about two thirds of the members are new. We have plenty of time until the next election in 1990 to think and to work. But let me not anticipate."

I shared with Janos Peter my impressions of my visit to Vac.

"I know," he said, "that there is much that is new and commendable in the work of the local councils. They have more rights and they can accomplish more than formerly. There is a great deal of room here for giving effect to the principle of people's government. Socialist democracy has great potentialities and reserves. We shall try to make maximum use of them." ■

Obstructing the Test-Monitoring Project

A group of Soviet seismologists has come back from the U.S. where, jointly with their colleagues at the Natural Resources Defence Council, they were to have selected sites for monitoring U.S. nuclear explosions in Nevada as part of the joint experiment now in progress. The following is an interview granted to New Times by the leader of the group Igor Nersesov, corresponding member of the Armenian Academy of Sciences and head of the seismology department at the Institute of Physics of the Earth under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

Did you succeed in getting to the nuclear testing site?

No. The American authorities refused us visas for a trip to the environs of the test site. Therefore, our American colleagues selected, in advance, eight control points from which we picked out three (on the basis of rock samples, slides and other research material): Nelson-1, Troy Canion (both in Nevada) and Deep Springs (California).

Just as near Semipalatinsk, we are to install ground equipment first and more sensitive instruments underground afterwards, with the information obtained to be transmitted by a telephone channel to the Universities of San Diego (California) and Reno (Nevada) for decoding and processing.

How will the monitoring facilities be serviced?

The instruments will have to be looked after by our American colleagues as we are forbidden entry to those areas. And remember, the Soviet government has permitted U.S. citizens to keep an eye on the operation of the instruments installed near the Semipalatinsk test site.

This is not the only artificial problem to have been created by the U.S. Administration. Our colleagues in the Natural Resources Defence Council have warned us that since the monitoring points of our choice are on the state-owned land, the U.S. government can forbid any experiments to be carried out there. Therefore, American scientists are now trying to find private plots near these points, whose owners would consent to having research equipment placed there.

What other problems were discussed during the visit?

Professors James Brune and Jonathan Berger of San Diego University and ourselves discussed preparations for the second phase of the experiment in Kazakhstan. They showed us prototype computers and measuring instruments to be installed there. Furthermore, we took part in scientific discussions on the possibility of verifying the observance of a nuclear test ban, and answered newsmen's questions.

Your trip came shortly after the end of the Reykjavik summit. How did the American scientists you met comment on its results?

Our American colleagues were almost unanimous in the belief that President Reagan had made a mistake in Reykjavik by forgoing practical moves towards disarmament for the sake of continued "star wars" research. At the same time, it was clear to all that a first step had been made. The Soviet side had come up with clear-cut and concrete proposals that provided the groundwork for further efforts toward disarmament.

Many U.S. Congressmen suggest that underground tests be restricted to the yield ceiling of one kiloton. Is this the limit below which nuclear tests for military purposes are of no use?

To be more exact, lower-yield explosions would be far less important militarily. But what really matters is that judging from such statements (of which more and more are to be heard in the U.S. today) an ever growing number of Americans realize that the present state of affairs cannot go on indefinitely. The tests must be ended by all means. This is a realistic objective, as evidenced by the unilateral Soviet moratorium and the successful verification of its observance in the course of the Soviet and American seismologists' joint experiment.

To conclude, the American authorities have repeatedly invited Soviet scientists to take part in nuclear weapon tests in Nevada. Such invitations were extended to us as well.

The only answer to this is that the purpose of our experiment is to prove the possibility of monitoring a nuclear test ban rather than watch nuclear weapons being tested. Surely the Pentagon cannot expect us to help develop new weapon systems for it.

Cartoon from Daily World (U.S.A.)

Interviewer:
E. ANDRIANOV

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After the war Nagel retired with the rank of colonel. Uhl became a police counsellor and was head of a personnel department. Riebel got a job as a tax inspector, and Hülsemann continued to serve as Polizeiobermeister. It was not until 1958, during the trial of SS general Erich von dem Bach-Selewski, that suspicions first arose that the former servicemen of the 322nd battalion had taken part in the massacre of civilians. An investigation was started, and the prosecutor's office in Stuttgart ordered the arrest of Nagel and Uhl.

However, they were never imprisoned. They had influential friends in the police and the prosecutor's office. When, in May 1962, Nagel's defence counsel presented a medical certificate stating that his client was in poor health, the hearings stopped. The "ailing" Nagel lived another 15 years and died at the age of 86.

The case of Uhl, Riebel and Hülsemann was taken up by the prosecution in Freiburg. The case was ready by February 1963. But again delays started and after seven weeks of hearings the murderers were acquitted on the grounds that they had been carrying out orders.

The battalion at work.

Photo from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

The last attempt to punish the criminals was made in 1966 after the battalion's logbook of operations in Russia was discovered. In it, all data on mass executions had been meticulously entered. No doubts remained as to what the battalion was doing in Soviet territory. Yet even that was not enough. Checks and double checks of facts followed, and legal formalities were invoked. In the end, the land court in Darmstadt decided to drop the case.

A. KOVRIGIN

the Sidelines

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bour: to sign a treaty on good-neighbourly relations and co-operation, spread confidence measures to the Far East, guarantee the non-use of nuclear weapons against Japan, provided the latter abides by the three non-nuclear principles, conclude an inter-government trade and economic agreement.

There is even less ground for contentions that the U.S.S.R. ranks its partners according to their military strength. Incidentally, Moscow does not consider Japan to be militarily impotent. On the contrary, it is closely watching the growth of Japan's self-defence forces and drawing corresponding conclusions. In doing so, it is mindful of the fact that the Defence Agency's White Paper names the Soviet Union as the only "potential enemy." The question of mutual attitudes takes on added significance today. Soviet-Japanese relations are moving into a phase of concrete and practical measures: less smiling and more business. Moscow is prepared for substantive political dialogue. Soviet public opinion favours such dialogue and takes an unprejudiced view of Japan. Even unhappy episodes in the history of our relations are not being used to foment anti-Japanese feeling.

Soviet-Japanese dialogue—an indispensable part of the general process of international relations—is in the doldrums partly because many people in Tokyo continue to say that global problems and nuclear disarmament are a matter for the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Even Reykjavik, which came in for detailed discussion at the meeting, elicited only very abstract interest from Japanese participants.

"Japan does not claim to solve the problems of war and peace and prefers to remain on the sidelines. In Soviet-American relations we are not an interested party," T. Aoka of the newspaper Asahi said.

One wonders if this is really so, especially in the wake of Japan's decision to take part in SDI. And even if it were so, it is nothing to be proud of. After all, an observer on the sidelines is someone who watches a blaze starting and doesn't lift a finger to put it out. Soviet-American relations today focus on key problems of our time. Isn't Japan interested in seeing them resolved? What, then, is the value of the statements made during the round table to the effect that the "Japanese want to rid the world of nuclear weapons more than the Soviet people" if Tokyo is doing nothing to that end?

Soviet-Japanese relations are important not only to our two countries. An improvement in them would make a great difference to the political climate in the whole region, which is far from being stable and calm.

What, then, can be done? Replying to questions from New Times reporters, NHK commentator M. Kato said that in his opinion Japan "cannot go too far" in pursuing an independent line vis-à-vis the Soviet Union because it would get no backing in Asia. Even so, journalists must try to improve the atmosphere of bilateral relations and ensure that our peoples have friendly feelings towards each other.

A frank admission is worth a great deal. But we would take issue with the statement that a Japanese policy for improved relations with the U.S.S.R. would get no backing in Asia. The lack of independence in Japan's foreign policy, for all that its leaders want to take part in international affairs as equals, prevents it from occupying its rightful place in the world community.

L. MLECHIN
V. OVSYANNIKOV

Argument and Demagogy

From the official transcript of President Reagan's news conference on November 19, 1986:

"**Question:** Mr President, one domestic question, would you please? Sir, this is the question.... This is a question that will not wait. It's cold weather out there and the growing number of hungry and cold people who are homeless in all of our cities, and these volunteers that you urge to take part in this and try to help have now made their surveys across the nation. They've come back and said we can't feed the hungry and take care of the homeless by ourselves. We've got to have federal help. You have no policy in the White House, I believe, to do this, and you are now just leaving this to local government and local groups. They can't take care of it. Won't you please give us a federally coordinated programme with long-time planning?

"**The President:** I think that in things of that kind, we are still spending more than has ever been spent before trying to help the needy. I will be very pleased to look into that particular facet and see if there is some snafu there, but I don't think so. But I do think that many of these programmes are being undertaken at a state and at a local level and with the aid of federal financing. But I'll look into it."

Millions of hungry, cold and homeless Americans urgently need aid. There are so many needy that volunteers are despairing. They cannot cope with a problem that has grown to such dimensions. The President is being asked to intervene without delay. So what does he do? We see abject despair at one end of the scale and heartless triviality at the other. Instead of the Christian "love thy neighbour," we hear outright hypocrisy: "I think..." and "I'll look into it." Instead of practical help to meet the needs of the people, we hear complete muddle of state and local levels and federal financing and meaningless promises, which, as was to be expected, have never come to anything.

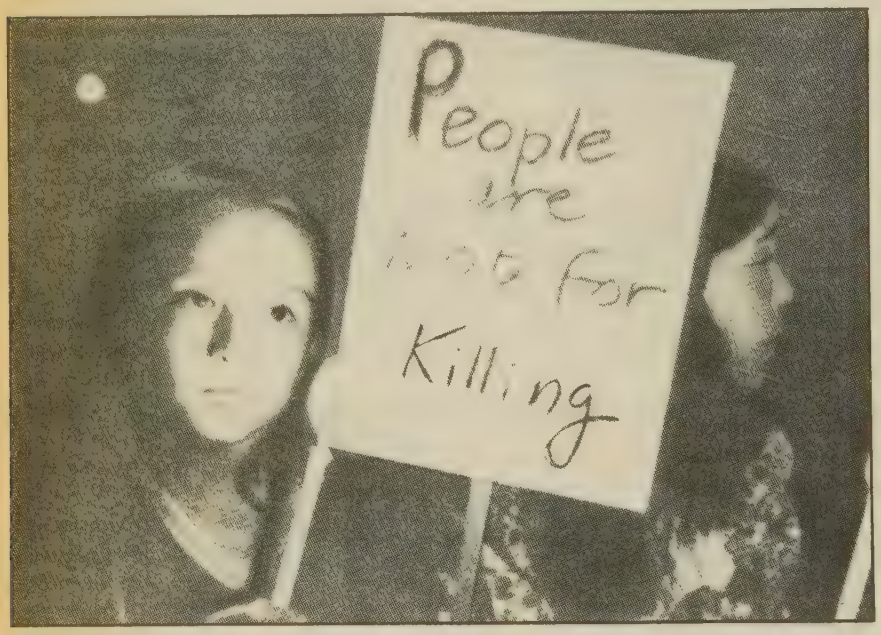
The reader, no doubt, will draw the lesson from the incident without our prompting. But the paradox is that the leaders who deny their fellow countrymen basic human rights and a life worthy of a human being never tire of teaching democracy to others. They seem to be living up to the familiar saying "Those that can do, those that can't, teach."

They would like to have another classroom for such lecturing—the grand hall of the Hofburg Palace in Vienna, where a Helsinki Conference review meeting has been under way since early November. Amazing things happen in that hall and around it.

"A state which mistreats its own citizens must also be a threat to its neighbours." This is right, no doubt, but who is it aimed at? Is its target he who, blind and deaf to the plight of his fellow countrymen, publicly pledged the other day to continue to intervene militarily in Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua? Is it he who ordered bombing raids on Libyan cities, the shelling of defenceless Beirut and the suppression of independent Grenada? Far from it.

The attack was launched on our socialist community by Warren Zimmermann, a veteran career diplomat from the U.S. State Department, who heads the American delegation at the Vienna meeting. Just like his chief in the State Department, Zimmermann does not like the Soviet Union and its socialist allies linking their concept of humanism primarily with the most sacred and universal human right—the right to life and peace. It is only the living who can enjoy rights and freedoms. The West, however, takes exception to this approach. It has a more global view of democracy. According to it, people can be jobless, homeless and drag out a miserable existence—but any tramp settling down on the ventilation grills of the New York subway for the night is free to visit relatives abroad and read any magazines and newspapers he likes. The socialist countries have not yet reached such a level of democracy, and our Western opponents view this as a threat to the Helsinki accords, as well as to the neighbouring Western democracies.

But these are artificially fuelled fears, of course. Washington is not at all serious about broadening East-West humanitarian cooperation. Such an opportunity was offered, for instance, at the Berne meeting on human contacts. Regrettably, the final document approved by all the delegates was never passed because of the opposition of



The message on the placard carried by the marchers is addressed to the Washington human rights "champions" who trampled these rights not only in the United States but in other countries as well.

Photo from the book "The United Nations—Still Humanity's Best Hope" published in Britain

one country, the United States. Something similar also happened at the European meeting on human rights in Ottawa: Atlantic sabotage did its job.

The subject of human rights is exploited whenever there is a need to complicate the proceedings of European forums and turn them into a scene of confrontation and enmity. Zbigniew Brzezinski recalled in his memoirs how he had advised President Carter actually to torpedo the Belgrade review meeting by putting the stumbling block of demagogy about the violation of human rights in socialist countries.

The plans laid for Vienna were slightly different. Zimmermann gave a briefing on them to the Atlantic partners on the very eve of the Vienna meeting. "We know that the Warsaw Pact will introduce a far-reaching proposal in the security field, based on its Budapest appeal of last June, a proposal for a negotiation on conventional arms reductions," he said in Bonn on October 28. NATO so far has made no reply to this initiative, he continued. But even today, in the President's opinion, at least two things should be prevented: first, the range of participants in discussions on this problem should on no account be increased to 35 countries because it would be impossible "to preserve the NATO discipline" at such a broad forum; second, the adoption of the Budapest proposals would make it impossible "to preserve balance" in the Helsinki framework and a swing towards security measures is inadmissible. It is not security, but "the concept of human rights [that] is basic to the Western view of CSCE," the head of the American delegation concluded.

Judging from the addresses of the first speakers from NATO countries in Hofburg, the message was understood. There emerged an obvious tendency to bring discussions on humanitarian issues to a deadlock and then, on the pretext of "imbalances" in the European process, to block the road to talks on reductions in conventional and, eventually, nuclear weapons. That tendency was clear in the speeches delivered by British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

Yet the shaky structure only teetered for a few hours.

There was no imbalance.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries effectively reaffirmed their readiness to discuss in Vienna any questions covered by the Final Act. No subjects, and this includes humanitarian ones, are taboo to them.

Disputes as to which system better meets human needs and guarantees human freedoms have been going on since Plato, if not longer. The socialist countries have their own view of the humanitarian aspects of the European process. "In our opinion, it means protection of human rights especially in the face of the threat of nuclear annihilation and war; it means free access to culture and other spiritual values; it means the opportunity to work, produce and exchange the commodities produced," Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski said in Hofburg.

The concepts of "democracy" and "freedom" are not static. No one has a monopoly on their interpretation. But any argument about the pros and cons of any system should be settled not through war but in peaceful competition between socio-political and economic systems. This is the principled stand of socialist countries.

"We are not trying to convert anyone to our faith," Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze stressed. "But we have always defended and will continue to defend the ideas that are dear to us. The more than 1.5 billion people in the countries that have chosen the socialist path of development have every right to demand that anyone's concepts of the fundamental values of existence should not be imposed on them from outside.

"We will continue firmly to pursue a course of broadening such human contacts, such exchanges of information and cultural values which promote humanism and peace."

There are indeed many problems of humanitarian cooperation which require close attention and new approaches based on new historical realities, speakers pointed out in Vienna. That is why the Soviet Union proposed convening a representative conference of the CSCE states on the whole range of humanitarian issues, including human contacts and questions of information, culture and education. "We are inviting this forum to Moscow with a view to holding comprehensive discussions so as to achieve practical results," Eduard Shevardnadze said in Hofburg.

The ploy with "imbalances" failed in Vienna. Die Presse of Austria characterized the proposal for a conference on humanitarian issues in Moscow as the most impressive initiative. One important conclusion, the newspaper says, is that the pace at the Vienna talks "is undoubtedly being set by the Soviet Union." The socialist countries have proved that they are not against disputes of which the truth is born. They are against strife which obscures it. Action and only action is needed to test the sincerity of the desire to promote the process characterized by Mikhail Gorbachev in the following way: "The Europeans can only collectively preserve their home and make it better and safer, following sensible norms of international intercourse and cooperation."

S. GOLYAKOV

Covenants Cold-Shouldered by Washington

In November 1986 the U.N. General Assembly observed the 20th anniversary of international covenants on human rights in the economic, social, civil, political and cultural fields.

The United States leads the group of countries which have not ratified these documents.

The U.S. refuses to join:

—the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948);

—the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965);

—the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity (1968);

—the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (1973).

The United Nations is drafting a convention to protect the rights of migrant workers and their families. Washingon has already said that there is very little chance of the U.S. joining it.

The United States has not ratified 30 of the 40 international agreements which comprise a system of commitments in modern international law.

The policy of state terrorism pursued by the U.S. with regard to countries they disapprove of (the seizure of Grenada, the aggression against Libya, the threats levelled at Syria and Nicaragua) is also a flagrant violation of the rights of peoples to life and peaceful development undeterred by foreign diktat.

A. NEKRASOV

"WACL Is Very Dangerous"

New Times has received a letter from René Urbany, chairman of the Communist Party of Luxemburg, a prominent figure of the international working-class movement, who writes that the Communist Party newspaper Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek is being sued for libel by two Belgian senators. On what grounds? "When the conference of the so-called World Anti-Communist League was held in Luxemburg early in September," Urbany explains, "the Communist press carried several articles exposing the fascist and racist character of the composition and objectives of this international organization." The Communists, however, he continues, were not alone in stigmatizing the League conference. Many newspapers and periodicals censured it, and 17 public organizations called for a protest demonstration against the fascist meet. The authorities were forced to refuse the League permission to use public premises for the conference. It was held in a private hotel and, as might have been expected, became a platform for rabid anti-communism.

On January 5, 1987, the legal authorities in Luxemburg are to decide whether legal proceedings will be initiated on the complaint of the two senators, one of whom is the head of the League. This is clearly another attempt on the part of the anti-democratic forces to muzzle all who resist the machinations of the "crusaders." In this connection the editors decided to show New Times readers the true face of the World Anti-Communist League which, though one of many, is an extremely important and widely-ramified organization of the international anti-communist front.

Let us begin with a little history. In March 1958 the preparatory committee to institute the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) met in Mexico City. Delegates from 12 countries, as well as some organizations such as the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations attended. It was not however until 1966, eight years later, that the birth of WACL was proclaimed in Seoul. The venue had been chosen because the League was the successor to the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League formed in 1954, with the direct participation of Chang Kaishi. The head of WACL was Gu Cheng, a member of the CC of the ruling Guomindang party of Taiwan, who is now the League's "honorary president for life." The League's first session, held in Taiwan in 1967, was attended by 64 countries and 12 international organizations.

The declared objective of WACL was to "fight and strive to remove all forms of totalitarianism including communism." The leadership was elected in accordance with this aim. Yaroslav Stetsko, one of the leading members of the Ukrainian nationalist émigré organization OUN as well as of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (who sent Hitler sycophantic letters and was responsible for the death of Soviet civilians)*, was elected to the League and subsequently to its Executive Board. Another member was Eberhard Taubert. For a long time Taubert headed the anti-Bolshevik division of Goebbels department, and during the war was in charge of the department for the occupied eastern territories, which means he was directly implicated in war crimes.

Its kinship with the Third Reich ensured WACL success in the Latin American countries where many fugitive nazis had found shelter. National committees of the League mushroomed in Argentina, Paraguay, Chile and Uruguay. Some Latin American dictators were members of WACL and Paraguay's President Stroessner is another "honorary president for life." The League's position was strengthened by its close links with the United Church led by the South Korean San Myan Mun. The sect, whose head advocates the "slaying of the Red dragon," has taken root in many Latin American capitals.

At the second and third conferences it was already clear that the League occupied a position "to the right of right." It opposed the ending of the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam and was against any negotiations. It made constant attacks on the P.R.C. and demanded that the United Nations be dismantled. In the mid-seventies WACL persistently advocated the need for military supremacy over the U.S.S.R. and the creation of new military blocs in Asia along with CENTO and SEATO.

Throughout its 20-year history, writes the Los Angeles Times, the League has concentrated its efforts on forging links between right-wing groups in Europe and other parts of the world. Here is just one example. In April 1978, a Euroright association sprang up which included the Italian fascists headed by Giorgio Almirante, a former member of the Mussolini government, the New Force led by the Spanish Francoist Blas Piñar, the French Party of New Forces, led by Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancour, the Belgian National Front, and the Greek General Assembly. In May, Almirante and his colleagues were already representing the Euroright at the WACL conference in Washington. According to the Spanish magazine Interviu, the CIA is using WACL to control the innumerable extreme right-wing organizations in Western countries. Documents testifying to links between WACL and the CIA were discovered by the Group of Greek Laywers and Journalists known as EMAKE in the archives of the Greek security service dating from the time of the "black colonels." Moreover, WACL numbers among its members former deputy director of the CIA, Ray Cline.

Although it flourished in "friendly" countries, the League kept a low profile inside the U.S. itself until the beginning of the 1980s. The situation changed when the Reagan Administration came to power.

The new approach to this and similar organizations was legalized in Law 12333, which states that the U.S. should pursue terrorist activity against other countries covertly, enlisting the services of private and public organizations. And that is where the World Anti-Communist League came in.

WACL conferences were attended by Senators Jesse Helms and Strom Thurmond, and Representatives Robert Dornan, Jake Garn, Philip Crane and Edward Derwinski. The American Council for World Freedom was affiliated to WACL, and the Council's leader, retired general John Singlaub, became

* A detailed account of Stetsko and his postwar activities was given in New Times Nos. 48 and 49 for 1983.

head of the League. In 1982 the WACL conference, for the first time in its history, received a message of greeting from an American President, Ronald Reagan. The main item on the agenda of the League's conference in Luxemburg in 1983 was combating the peace movement opposed to American Euromissiles in Western Europe.

At the WACL conference in Dallas in 1985 (300 delegates from 74 countries) Singlaub called for stepped-up efforts to raise funds to help rebels not only in Central America, but also in Afghanistan, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Laos and Kampuchea.

WACL names NICARAGUA as its main target. Yuri Kryuchkov, a Novosti Press Agency correspondent in Managua, provides facts about the League's intervention in that country's affairs.

The World Anti-Communist League tops the list of U.S. non-governmental organizations supplying arms and ammunition to the Nicaraguan contras. Each month it contributes up to $500,000 in "private donations" to finance the aggression against Nicaragua. Among the contributors are beer baron Jeff Coors (founder of the Heritage Foundation, the White House "think tank"), and Texan multimillionaire Hunt. The organizer of the fund-raising campaign is General Singlaub, who uses his connections in high places. According to data available here in Managua, he has collected $10 million for the contras. He has said in an interview that some of the money comes from branches abroad. This is probably true. Singlaub has established direct links between the contra leaders and the regimes in Israel, South Korea and South Africa.

Behind all this the CIA is easily discernible, as witnessed by the scandal that erupted in October. An American plane carrying 55 machine guns, 50,000 rounds of ammunition and other military equipment was shot down over southern Nicaragua. Two U.S. citizens, including the pilot, and one Nicaraguan died in the crash. The fourth member of the crew, U.S. citizen Eugene Hasenfus, survived. He admitted that he was carrying out a CIA assignment. The operation was allegedly engineered by a "private organization."

According to the New York Times, the plane was used by a private organization headed by John Singlaub.

Further data on the WACL-CIA links is provided by Vladislav Orlov, TASS correspondent in New York.

The people who, according to the official Washington version, were responsible for the arms supply operation, Cuban exiles Max Gomez (alias Felix Rodriguez, a veteran of the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba) and Ramon Medina were just pawns in the big political game. The Los Angeles Times reports that Gomez had been recruited by none other than the national security adviser to U.S. Vice-President George Bush. Nestor Sanchez, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence (Inter-American Affairs), a long-time member of the CIA, was also involved in the arms supply business.

Leslie Gelb, an informed Washington correspondent for the New York Times, citing U.S. Administration officials, reported that three years ago, when the U.S. Congress opposed open military assistance to the Nicaraguan contras, a secret plan to bring aid to the contras through private sources had been elaborated and approved by the President. The central figures in this activity were William Casey, CIA director, Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North of the National Security Council, and Elliot Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. While the latter was responsible for the "overall strategy," Casey and North were responsible for its implementation. Today this top-secret plan has been given the widest and most sensational publicity, and Oliver North has already been removed from his post. It appears that there existed some sort of "infrastructure" of illegal deliveries of arms (both to Iran and to Nicaragua).

The link between senior officials in the capital and the men in the field is effected by a very active group of retired generals. The "non-governmental organizations" they head make up a vast network operating against the Sandinist regime. In this connection the press mentions Major General Richard Secord, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence, Harry Aderholt, Retired Air Force Major General, and other former professional soldiers and intelligence men, such as Ray Cline.

It is no accident, therefore, that as from 1984, operations against Nicaragua were assigned to the League. At its regular conference in San Diego, California, war was declared on this republic (significantly, a special seminar on Nicaragua at the conference was conducted by Cline). This marked the start of the notorious "private operation" to get arms to the contras. Since August, at least 500 tons of arms, ammunition and various military supplies have been delivered. The signs are that WACL played a major role in this.

The WACL conference in Dallas in 1985 received a message of greeting from Ronald Reagan. At the 1986 Luxemburg conference (photo) one of the main speakers was Joseph Luns, former Secretary-General of NATO.

"WACL Is Very Dangerous"

So the League is a weapon of the White House and the CIA in America's undeclared wars, an instrument of the policy of state terrorism. But that is not all. Journalist Evgeny Kiselyov told us of WACL's links with individual terrorism.

In 1966, within months of the League being formed, it sprouted the Aginter Press agency. According to Danish journalist Henrik Krüger, the agency engaged in sabotage, subversion and spying against anything that had the misfortune to be to the left. The organization was disbanded in 1974, but there is evidence that its members are still working under WACL's auspices. The 1974 WACL conference was attended by leaders of the French OAS which had made repeated attempts to assassinate Charles de Gaulle.

WACL's Executive Board session in Asuncion in 1979 approved a scheme to establish communications with extreme right-wing terrorist groups in Europe (as attested by Jean Ziegler of Switzerland, who has made a special investigation of the subject carried by the Spanish Interviu magazine). WACL's European branch, the European Anti-Communist League, was from the outset a terrorist organization. In 1981 it organized a secret meeting in Paris attended by delegates from Spain, France, the F.R.G., Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Holland, Norway, and Sweden. The theme of the Paris meeting was how to organize a right-wing terrorist underground in Spain.

Affiliated to WACL is the World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) with its main centre in Washington and a European centre in Aarhus, Denmark. In June 1981, the Brazilian authorities arrested eight citizens of Austria and the F.R.G. who were trying to smuggle arms across the border to the ultras in Bolivia. One of them carried a WUNS membership card. In September of that year, several Italian fascists, members of WUNS, were arrested in Britain, accused of complicity in the bomb attack at Bologna station.

The Latin American branch of WACL has a special relationship with terrorism. Among its members, past and/or present, are Mario Alarcon, founder of the White Hand, a paramilitary group in Guatemala, and d'Aubuisson, a leader of the Death Squads in El Salvador. The 1975 WACL conference elected as its

The WACL Luxemburg conference elected as leader of the League Senator Jose Desmarets of Belgium. We asked Vyacheslav Boikov, the Brussels correspondent of the newspaper Trud, to interview him, but Desmarets was away on a long trip to the U.S. However, New Times secured an interview with a person just as interesting for our investigation. He is Senator Robert Close, a retired general who formerly held high posts in NATO as an expert on the "Soviet threat."

SENATOR CLOSE AND "CREEPING NEUTRALISM"

Mr Close, you are not only a Belgian senator and a retired general, but also one of the leaders of the World Anti-Communist League. You were WACL head in 1983-84 and are currently head of the Belgian branch. It would be interesting to hear about WACL straight from the horse's mouth, so to speak.

Let me be frank. You have one political system and we have another. WACL is fighting for democracy and freedom. That is why we oppose your convictions and your system.

How does the image of a champion of democracy and freedom square with the fact that such odious figures as Stroessner and Pinochet are members of WACL? These dictators are regarded as stranglers of democracy and freedom. Or is their membership of your organization just "communist propaganda"?

No, it is true. WACL is a world organization with representatives from about ninety countries. Among them are democratic countries as well as some authoritarian ones. But the latter are very few, and I don't believe they have much influence on WACL. We have differences with such regimes as Chile. But they share our basic idea of the need to combat communism. So I see no reason why they cannot be members of the League. You yourself advocate non-interference in internal affairs, so why should we interfere in the affairs of Chile and Paraguay?

Could you comment on press reports about the links between your League and terrorist organizations, in particular, the Death Squads and Alpha 66?

I flatly deny any links with terrorists. I give you my word of honour that we have no such links. We used to have some but since I have been head of the League these people have been expelled from our ranks. A great many rumours are being put about. Recently the Communist newspaper in Luxemburg accused us of fascism. Together with the current leader of the League, Senator Jose Desmarets, we sued the newspaper. During the second world war, I spent three years in a nazi concentration camp and I regard such claims as a personal insult.

Didn't you feel insulted by the fact that Yaroslav Stetsko, who served Hitler's nazis during the war, was until recently a member of the same League, in which he occupied senior posts?

As far as I know, during the war Stetsko, who died recently, and his wife Slava fought for the liberation of their country, for the autonomy of the Ukraine. They also opposed nazism. I consider the struggle for independence to be a legitimate right and see nothing wrong there.

But how can you describe a person whose hands are dripping with the blood of innocent people as a champion of freedom! From whom was Stetsko trying to liberate the Ukraine when, along with the nazis, he killed Ukrainians?

You would do better to address such questions to Slava Stetsko. I am familiar only with her statements in defence of her husband. It is hard for me to judge whether you are right or not because I don't know what really happened.

From time to time facts come to light that suggest cooperation between WACL and the CIA.

This is an absolute lie. There are no such links.

How then does one account for the fact that the leader of your Asian branch, Swarup, has been arrested in India as a CIA agent?

I have heard about the case and I know Swarup personally. He is a very quiet and, to my mind, harmless person. I haven't seen any evidence of his links with the CIA. One can accuse a person of anything. You have accused the American journalist Daniloff of being a CIA agent.

Daniloff was caught red-handed. This is a fact. Even the American press has backtracked on its initial claim that their colleague was innocent and said that the CIA might have used Daniloff without making him privy to their plans.

This may have been so. I see nothing wrong here. It is normal for people of one camp to follow the actions and moves being prepared by the other. I personally see spying as a system of confidence measures, verification by national

president Carlos Barbieri Filho of Brazil, the head of the League's Latin American branch (he attended the Luxemburg conference in 1986). He has direct links with the Death Squads in Brazil and Argentina. According to the Washington Post, WACL coordinates the activity of many Latin American terrorist groups from its centre in Guadalajara, Mexico.

Judging from the frequency with which it is mentioned in the press, Paraguay remains the main centre and directs WACL terrorist activities outside Latin America as well. When Croatian terrorists staged a series of attacks on Yugoslavian missions in the U.S. and Western Europe in the 1970s, they used Paraguay as their base. Two terrorists—Miro Baresic and Ivan Vujicevic—travelled using Paraguayan passports as bodyguards of the Paraguayan ambassador to the U.S. In 1971 Baresic killed the Yugoslavian ambassador to Sweden, was arrested and convicted. But in 1972 his friends hijacked a plane and forced the Swedish government to release him. It was later learned, the above-mentioned Henrik Krüger writes, that the Croatian terrorists had received about $3.5 million from the Latin American branch of WACL.

Paraguayan dictator General Stroessner is an "honorary president for life" of WACL and one of the League's main sponsors.

Of the dozen or so terrorist organizations connected with the League, I should mention the anti-Cuban Alpha 66, with headquarters in Miami. The 1977 WACL conference recognized Alpha 66 as the League's "official Cuban representative." The record of Alpha 66 includes attempts on the life of Fidel Castro (calls for his assassination were renewed at a recent WACL conference), blowing up a Cuban plane off the coast of Barbados in October 1976 (claiming 73 dead). Alpha 66 is closely linked with the Chilean junta from which it receives financial aid. It has at least 15 military camps.

The League has dozens of professional assassins and vast resources. Being a far-flung organization, it avoids the difficulties of isolated terrorist groups in moving from country to country, forging documents, smuggling arms, and so on. WACL draws on the experience of Latin American dictator-

means, so to speak, including eyes and ears.

The press reports from time to time that members of your League are involved in drug trafficking and use the proceeds to finance the contras in Nicaragua, and the dushmans in Afghanistan.

This is a fantastic and groundless accusation. Some people try to lump everything together: the contras, drugs, and the CIA. It is no secret that the organization headed by General Singlaub is helping the contras in Nicaragua. But knowing the general as well as I do, I am sure he has no connections with any drug traffickers. I do not rule out that there may be people who use drugs to finance the contras, but they have nothing to do with our League. We in the European branch of WACL would also like to help rebels in their struggle against the Sandinist and Afghan regimes. But there is massive indifference among West Europeans towards these problems. I am sorry to say so, but it is a fact. I am sure that if we started raising money to help the contras we would not raise a penny. There is an amazing lack of concern.

Isn't this opposition a sign of disagreement with this kind of activity?

No, West Europeans are simply indifferent to what is happening in the world. Most of them are unaware that strategy is global, that there is a link between European security and what is happening in, say, Latin America. I for one would not claim that democracy reigned in Nicaragua under Somoza. But things have got even worse under the Sandinists. Take the Miskito Indians affair. The press has carried pictures of Sandinist atrocities against these people. How can we shut our eyes to such things?

I'm afraid that's not a very happy example. My Western colleagues have already exposed it as a fake. The pictures of the massacre of Indians were taken during Somoza rule and have nothing to do with the Sandinists.

I haven't heard anything of that and I haven't got such information. One can't keep up with everything that happens.

Jose Desmarets said in Luxemburg: "Communism should be interpreted in a wider sense. It can take such subtle forms as the activities of ecologists, pacifists, and neutralists." Does this mean that the list of your enemies has increased and you are going to extend the front of your actions?

Senator Desmarets and I have said time and again that in addition to military rivalry, a struggle of ideas is going on. You are inculcating love of country in your people and we are trying to do the same. In principle, I am not against peace demonstrations as long as they aren't confined only to Europe. In the late 1930s pacifists marched in France, Britain, and some other European countries, while soldiers marched in the Third Reich. Eventually Hitler decided that his neighbours had lost the resolve to defend their country and started a war. When the members of the movements you have mentioned are affected by creeping neutralism, and when they declare that it is better to be "red than dead," we see them as our opponents, and we intend to oppose them.

What is the League's attitude to the neutral countries and their leaders?

Personally, I have nothing against state neutrality, say, in Austria, Switzerland or Sweden.

Could you comment on reports that the Swedish Prime Minister, Olof Palme, was assassinated by members of your organization?

It is brazen slander, circulated by our enemies shortly before the opening of WACL's Luxemburg conference.

But the report was broadcast on French television which, I understand, you do not count among your enemies.

The French took this misinformation at face value. We did not take them to court because we know their answer: the information came from Swedish circles. But nobody knows exactly who these people are.

My final question. Ten years ago you wrote a book in which you claimed that Russian tanks could reach Belgium in 48 hours. Do you still believe this?

I never said this would definitely happen or that you were going to attack tomorrow, or in a couple of years. What I did say and am saying is that it is a possibility. Anything can happen in history. If you had said before the war that France would be defeated by Germany in six weeks you would have been declared mad and sent to prison. But France capitulated in a month and a half. Why should we rule out such a possibility today?

At the very least because it was the Soviet Union that halted nazi Germany. But for this, nazi tanks might still be in Belgium.

"WACL Is Very Dangerous"

ships (recall the murder of Letelier), the West European ultras and neofascists. The French TV company TF 1 has reported that the Swedish police looking for the assassins of Olof Palme have come on tracks leading to WACL.

Whom does WACL consider its mortal enemies? Communists, certainly. But not only them, as we learned from Novosti Press Agency correspondent in Luxemburg Vladimir Sokolov, who followed the League's latest conference at our request.

The area around Novotel, where the conference took place, looked like a besieged fortress. Police, gendarmes, private detectives and personal bodyguards, 200 WACL representatives from 19 countries (many were careful to remain anonymous) had gathered, as the conference's motto proclaimed, "to work for freedom in peace."

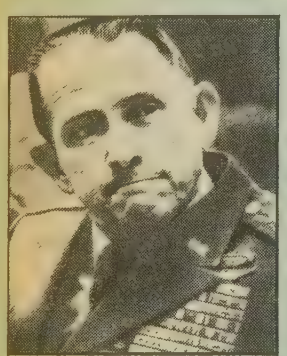
However, "peace" was not a word much favoured by the speakers. The conference called for a stronger NATO and the creation of new regional military organizations, no nuclear-free zones and full support for U.S. foreign policy.

One of the main papers presented was entitled "Central America: Key to Western Security." General Singlaub stressed that the contras could always count on the League's material, physical and moral support. The conference spoke of a "bright future" for the bloody Pinochet regime. Suzanne Labin, leader of the League's French branch, was particularly vocal on that score. In one of her books, Labin writes: "Events in Chile have brought it home to the French that any means of fighting communist rule are natural and legitimate." Among the French delegates were members of Le Pen's National Front.

The conference promised more active support for the Voice of America and Free Europe radio stations and proclaimed the creation of another subversive radio station, Free Mozambique.

The newly elected head of WACL, Belgian Senator Desmarets, declared: "Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Poland, Angola, Ethiopia, the Middle East, Nicaragua and Latin America—these are the areas where the destinies of each of us are being decided as if in our own countries." In his speech, Desmarets named communism as the greatest of evils. And he explained that he was using the word "communism" in the broad sense to include such "subtle forms as the activities of ecologists, pacifists and neutralists."

Finally, one more significant fact. Delegates to the WACL conference vehemently rejected accusations of complicity in the murder of Olof Palme. But the press recalled that last year's conference of the League had been attended by several retired Swedish generals who were very vocal in expressing discontent with Palme's consistently neutralist policy.



Retired general JOHN K. SINGLAUB

Head of WACL between 1984 and 1986. President of the American Council for World Freedom [a branch of WACL].

In the 1940s John Singlaub was on the staff of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services [the predecessor of the CIA]. He was a liaison officer between U.S. agencies and Chang Kaishi. During the U.S. aggression in Vietnam he was in charge of operations of task units.

In the late 1970s, Singlaub had to retire as commander of the U.S. Forces in South Korea after he publicly criticized President Carter for his intention to withdraw American troops from that country.

Upon his retirement, Singlaub immediately became a leader of the reactionary non-governmental organizations, the Coalition for Peace Through Strength and the American Security Council. Before long he was head of the American Council for World Freedom, a branch of WACL in North America, and later head of the World Anti-Communist League.

Former CIA deputy director RAY CLINE

In the 1940s Ray Cline, just like Singlaub, served in the U.S. Office of Strategic Services. Posing as a diplomat, he was a member of the American delegation to Geneva in 1955. In 1956, Cline accompanied Allen Dulles, the then CIA director, on his inspection tour of the CIA stations. U.S. sources indicate that it was Cline, CIA resident in Taiwan since 1958, who took part in the creation of the World Anti-Communist League, using CIA money for the purpose.

Working in Taiwan Cline was in charge of smuggling saboteurs into China and of reconnaissance flights of American U-2 planes. The French journalists Alain Guérin and Jacques Varin wrote that in the spring of 1958, during the CIA operation against Indonesian President Sukarno, it was Ray Cline who sent B-26 bombers from Taiwan with an assignment to attack Indonesian forces.

In the CIA, Cline rose to the post of deputy director for intelligence. However, in the mid-sixties he was demoted to the post of CIA resident in Frankfort on the Main. In 1969 Cline left the CIA and soon became director of the intelligence and research data processing bureau for the State Department. In the autumn of 1980 he took part in the George Bush's election campaign as an expert on international affairs. At that time, during an assembly of former intelligence agents, Cline proclaimed his formula, which was later embraced by the Reagan Administration: the Soviet Union stands behind all terrorist movements. Not surprisingly, when the Republicans came to power, Cline became a voluntary adviser to the president on questions of terrorism. At the present time Ray Cline works for the Georgetown University Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

Two years before the shots were fired in Stockholm, the world was shocked by the murder of Indira Gandhi. The trial has already been held and the sentence has been passed. But Leonid Zhegalov, New Times correspondent in Delhi, has found a reference to WACL in the investigation's case.

A neat little mansion in south Delhi. The notice on the gates reads: "The Asia-Pacific Anti-Communist League. Indian Branch." I ask the secretary if I may see the president. Her reply is silence and a raised eyebrow.

"Don't you know?"

"Yes, I know, but I thought you might have elected a new one."

"Oh, no. We still hope he'll be released. He has been libelled. The country is full of Marxists and communist agents."

Late in September last year the president of the Asia-Pacific Anti-Communist League's Indian branch, Rama Swa-

DIRTY MONEY

If WACL gives $500,000 to the Nicaraguan contras every month and has paid more than $3 million to Croatian terrorists, the conclusion suggests itself that the League has a permanent and reliable source of funds.

The League is financed by wealthy reactionaries in the U.S., South Korea, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia and Japan. The WACL conference in Japan (1970) was financed by business tycoon Ryoichi Sasagawa, who had previously been convicted as a war criminal.

Furthermore, the Venezuelan newspaper El Nacional has reported that Paraguay's strongman Stroessner is not only "honorary president for life" of WACL, but one of its main sponsors. The WACL treasury is replenished with "dirty" money from drug trafficking. Domingo Laino, an opposition leader in Paraguay, has declared that the Stroessner regime established links with the American mafia and organized drug smuggling into the U.S. as early as the 1950s. According to Laino, many Paraguayan drug traffickers are travelling around the world with WACL documents, posing as its envoys.

Henrik Krüger of Denmark, in his book "The Drug Weapon," demonstrates that WACL engages in similar activities in Pakistan, from where heroin is exported to Western Europe and the U.S. This operation is controlled by the CIA, which sponsors the dushmans who produce heroin, and is interested in having undeclared revenues to finance anti-Afghan operations. Initially (1980-81) the CIA made available its naval ships to transport heroin. Now the operation has been taken over by WACL and the mafia.

rup, was given a tumultuous welcome by his followers at Delhi's Palam airport. He was returning from Dallas where he had attended a conference of the World Anti-Communist League. In early November, 53-year-old Rama Swarup was arrested for spying. The investigation established that the respectable businessman and public figure was a CIA agent and was listed under code-number 72 at the CIA station in Delhi. A search of the house of the local anti-communist chief revealed secret documents from the defence and external affairs ministries and other Indian security-related material.

Also found were copies of documents of the Thakkar Commission set up in the wake of the assassination of Indira Gandhi to look into the wider context of the crime, including the possible complicity of external forces. Why did Swarup, an American agent, exhibit, as the final indictment says, "excessive interest" in the commission's work? Because, it has been suggested here, he tried to obtain preemptive information on possible CIA exposures.

This lends significance to a fact revealed in the course of the inquiry: Rama Swarup had passed 48,000 rupees received from the Americans to P.N. Lekhi, an anti-communist lawyer well known in India. Lekhi was the defence counsel for one of Indira Gandhi's murderers. On receipt of the money, Lekhi made a trip to Geneva, ostensibly on business connected with the trial. There he met one Felix Armacora. Shortly afterwards Lekhi presented the jury with his version of events according to which Indira Gandhi had been killed by her relatives during a family quarrel.

The indictment charges Rama Swarup with spying against the well-being, sovereignty and security of India.

Judge Kudal, chairman of the government commission investigating the activity of several local public organizations used by the CIA for subversive purposes in India, said in an interview for New Times:

"In addition to gathering intelligence data, the CIA used Rama Swarup as a lobbyist to influence the political and public circles in India. He instigated anti-Soviet campaigns in the press and organized similar inquiries in parliament, passed CIA money—on behalf of the Anti-Communist League—to Afghan emigrants in Delhi hostile to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan."

In all these cases, stressed Judge Kudal, Rama Swarup acted contrary to the policy of the Indian government, with the aim of discrediting India's friends and hence impinging on India's national interests.

* * *

This feature had already been prepared when Charles Allen, a noted U.S. journalist who has written much about war criminals of the Third Reich who have avoided punishment, came to Moscow to attend the Lessons of Nuremberg conference. We contacted Charles Allen, knowing that he had once had an encounter with Ray Cline, one of the figures in our investigation.

Mr Allen, does the name Ray Cline ring a bell with you?

Yes, I once had a fierce encounter with this man during Ted Koppel's Nightline TV show devoted to the nazi criminal Rudolph, an engineer whom the U.S. used in its rocket programme. Cline said it was a perfectly normal and moral thing to do.

There is evidence to show that he is one of the initiators of the World Anti-Communist League.

All I know is that Cline attended a WACL conference in San Diego in 1984 which discussed terrorism.

WACL now, as in the past, has as members many people who come within your range of interest, for example, Stetsko. We would like to know your opinion of the organization. Some people believe that the League is just a talking shop which is not to be taken seriously and certainly does not pose any danger.

WACL is undoubtedly dangerous. It is very dangerous now. In my latest book I call it the main international fascist organization at the highest level.

We have evidence that WACL is engaged in drug trafficking.

That is very probable.

... and in individual terror.

Also possible. I repeat: WACL is very dangerous.

L. YELIN, A. BELCHIKOV,
N. TOPURIDZE

Photos from l'Humanité (France), Der Spiegel (F.R.G.) and from the book "The Drug Weapon"

GATT: The Eighth Round

A new round of multilateral trade negotiations has started in Geneva within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The decision to initiate them was reached at a special session of GATT member countries in Punta del Este, Uruguay, from September 15 to 20 this year. The new round, the eighth in GATT's history, was opened by the declaration adopted at the session. The session formed a Trade Negotiations Committee which got down to work at its first meeting in Geneva at the end of October.

The Agenda for Four Years

The purpose of the Uruguay-round soon became clear. It was to further liberalize and expand world trade by improving market access and lowering or abolishing tariff and non-tariff restrictions, increase the role of the GATT system in world trade and its ability to respond to changes in the international economic situation, and help debtor nations in the Third World meet their financial obligations.

In the context of these general questions, participants are expected to consider more specific problems, such as the liberalization of trade in agriculture, in tropical and natural resource based products, and in textiles and clothing. It is also expected that they will draw up an agreement on trade safeguards, improve the rules and procedures for the settlement of trade disputes among GATT member countries, and examine trade related aspects of intellectual property rights, including the right to trademarks and trade related investment measures affecting GATT member countries.

For the first time in GATT's history, the agenda for multilateral talks includes issues related to world trade in services (transport, tourism, insurance, banking operations, construction in other countries, computer data transfer). Also for the first time, multilateral trade negotiations are being linked to international monetary problems, particularly the foreign debt of developing nations. The GATT countries have agreed that while the talks continue they will not introduce new import restrictions and will gradually remove barriers that run counter to the General Agreement. Thus, the Uruguay-round covers the widest ever range of international trade problems, and its decisions will regulate world trade until the end of the century.

The new round is intended to last four years. But in view of the complexity of the problems and the sharp disagreements between the negotiating parties, it may last much longer. This is especially indicated by the divergence in views on the importance and priority of issues on the agenda that arose between industrialized capitalist and developing nations in the course of the preparations for talks. For instance, the question of trade in services was included in the agenda under U.S. pressure, though it was opposed by developing countries, particularly India and Brazil. Under a compromise reached in Punta del Este, parallel talks—on trade in goods and trade in services—will be held. Not formally linked, they will, organizationally, be directed by the Trade Negotiations Committee. For their part, the developing nations have secured a pledge that a moratorium on new import restrictions will be introduced and existing trade barriers rolled back. They also attach great importance to the linking of world trade with their foreign debt.

Political Bias

Prompted by the belief that many of the trade policy questions discussed at multilateral negotiations have a bearing on its foreign economic interests, the Soviet Union declared in August 1986 that it would like to take part in these negotiations. Informal consultations on another matter—the granting of observer status in GATT itself—have been in progress between the Soviet Union and the GATT secretariat and its member countries since 1982.

In doing so, the Soviet Union has followed the example of many other countries which, before joining the General Agreement as full members, had participated as observers. The practice, incidentally, is provided for by the rules and traditions of GATT. By making an approach to GATT, the Soviet Union did not intend to remain an observer, regarding this status as merely an initial step.

The countries attending the Punta del Este session had been informed of the Soviet Union's desire to join the General Agreement in the future as a full member on agreed terms. The Soviet Union also explained its aims at the negotiations: to help improve the trade policy climate for international trade and elaborate decisions necessary for this purpose; expand trade between the Soviet Union and GATT member countries and strengthen confidence and cooperation between them; acquire the experience of participation in GATT in connection with the changes now being effected in the management mechanism of Soviet foreign trade in the overall context of restructuring the economic mechanism.

But GATT did not respond favourably to the Soviet request. The participation of the Soviet Union in the Uruguay-round, Western newspapers pointed out, was opposed by some Western countries, particularly the United States. The Soviet Union cannot thus take part in this round because the Punta del Este session limited the number of participants, without regard for the interests of the U.S.S.R. and other non-member countries. This decision is a step backwards from the Tokyo-round, which was open to all interested states. It is also clear that the United States and some other GATT members blocked the Soviet Union's participation for political motives.

Moscow believes, however, that the refusal to admit it to the Uruguay-round is not the final word on the part of this multilateral organization. In the present adverse international situation, the Soviet Union's rapprochement with GATT does not seem an easy process and will call for mutual efforts and the clarification of positions.

A Shortsighted Approach

Those opposed to establishing ties between GATT and Moscow claim that the Soviet economic system is alien to

the principles, rules and practice of the organization and that the Soviet Union would thus be unable to fulfil the commitments stipulated by the General Agreement. These arguments are clearly dictated by politically biassed considerations.

Firstly, GATT does not regulate the economic systems of its member countries. They are freely chosen by their peoples on the basis of national sovereignty. Countries with different socio-political systems, socialist and developing nations included, already participate in GATT. It is also evident that socio-economic structures are not completely identical, even in industrialized capitalist countries.

Secondly, as far as the fulfilment of commitments under the General Agreement is concerned. Western countries take an individual attitude to each state wishing to accede to GATT. This means that the commitments of an applicant state become a subject of special negotiations. By announcing its intention to join GATT in the future as a full-fledged member, the Soviet Union is naturally prepared to observe all the rules, procedures and traditions of the institution.

Also untenable is the argument that the Soviet Union's participation in GATT will lead to the organization being politicized. The U.S.S.R. is a major trading nation. Foreign economic ties play a significant part in its economy. Their role in the acceleration of social and economic development will further increase after the foreign economic mechanism has been revamped and cardinal economic reforms have been carried out. In the course of this reconstruction, producer amalgamations and enterprises will be given greater independence in their business ties with foreign partners. They are to be made completely self-financing. The aim of the current reforms in the Soviet Union is to ensure management of the economy by economic levers, not administrative measures. All this will qualitatively influence the Soviet Union's participation in the international division of labour and involve it more deeply in the multilateral trading system on the basis of GATT's principles and rules.

Those opposed to the Soviet Union's participation in the General Agreement have in fact themselves politicized the issue by pursuing an obviously unrealistic objective—the isolation of the U.S.S.R. from international negotiations on the future of world trade. Such a shortsighted approach is not conducive to the promotion of multilateral and free world trade and the renunciation of politically motivated discrimination in it. The negative attitude of some Western countries to the Soviet Union's participation in GATT is equally shortsighted in the light of prospects for expansion in East-West economic cooperation, which could become a dynamic factor in international trade exchange.

V. ZOLOTUKHIN

GATT—Background Note

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), established in 1948, defines the rights and obligations of its member states in international trade. Intergovernmental bodies and a secretariat, based in Geneva, have been set up within the framework of GATT to supervise the implementation of the rules of the organization. GATT is thus simultaneously a permanently operating international organization and a forum for multilateral and bilateral negotiations and consultations between member states on all matters of their foreign trade policy.

As of November 1986, ninety-two countries were full-fledged members of the organization. Among them there are socialist countries: Hungary, Cuba, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. As many as 152 countries participate in GATT in various forms. The Soviet Union does not take part in the organization's activities.

The General Agreement is essentially a code of principles and rules governing international trade. Its main principles include most-favoured-nation treatment in trade, non-discrimination, reciprocity of concessions in trade, balance of rights and obligations, national treatment of foreign goods, transparency in the foreign trade policy of the member states, recognition of customs tariffs as the chief form of protection of the domestic market, and settlement of disputes through bilateral and multilateral negotiations and consultations.

The GATT rules cover such fields of international trade as customs tariffs of the member states and quantitative import restrictions (quotas, contingents and import licensing), the shipment of goods across borders (including various methods of customs evaluation of goods to determine the tariff or import tax), regulation of foreign trade standards, measures against dumping and government subsidizing of export, safeguard measures used by member countries (that is, import restrictions allowed by GATT's rules), and the use of a preferential regime, that is, preferential terms in trade with developing nations.

Over 85 per cent of world trade exchange is now governed by the GATT rules. The General Agreement operates on the principle, recognized by its member countries, that foreign trade should be promoted by economic levers and considerations, not administrative methods or decisions.

Seven rounds of multilateral trade negotiations have been held within the framework of GATT. The first six rounds dealt mainly with the reduction of customs tariffs. As a result, the level of customs tariffs in the member countries has been cut by roughly two thirds. As well as an agreement on a further reduction of customs tariffs, the countries attending the seventh, Tokyo-round of negotiations held from 1973 to 1979, concluded multilateral agreements on standards, import licensing and export subsidies, trade arrangements in a number of agricultural products and civil aircraft. ■

On the Olympic Scene

VITALY SMIRNOV
Chairman, State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport, Russian Federation

Barcelona (Spain) and Albertville (France) have been selected as the host cities for the summer and winter 1992 Olympics, respectively. The decision was made by secret ballot at the 91st session of the International Olympic Committee held recently in Lausanne, Switzerland. Juan Antonio Samaranch, the IOC President, abstained on the grounds that his vote might have told on the objectivity of the committee's decision.

Rivalry was the most acute to date. The privilege of hosting the summer Olympics had been contended by Belgrade, Amsterdam, Brisbane, Barcelona, Birmingham and Paris; and the winter Olympics—by Sofia, Lillehammer, Anchorage, Falun, Albertville, Cortina d'Ampezzo and Berchtesgaden. Spanish Premier Felipe Gonzalez, French Premier and Mayor of Paris Jacques Chirac, and Prince Bertil of Sweden led the delegations of their respective countries to Lausanne. The session lasted for five days of which three were given over to examining the cases made by the contender cities, and to voting.

The session criticized the excessive zeal shown by many aspirants who sought to influence the IOC by any means. Anxious to tip the balance in their favour, the preparatory committees spent no small fortunes on arranging all sorts of exhibitions, publishing prospectuses, books and pamphlets, and conducting various advertizing campaigns. This cost some of the contenders to host the summer and winter Olympics $20 million and $2.5-3 million respectively.

The IOC set up a commission which is to submit to the next session (scheduled for May 1987) a draft procedure to put forward candidatures and proposals to minimize publicity costs and trim off unnecessary promotional activities.

The session adopted a decision to alter the sequence of the Olympics. In 1992 they will follow the usual pattern, but from 1994 on winter and summer games will be held in different years. The year 1994 will see the winter Olympics, for instance, the year 1996—the summer ones, and so on. The four-year intervals between Olympiads will remain. The host for the 1994 winter Olympics will be named in 1988. A decision was adopted to add badminton and baseball to the programme for the summer Olympics as from 1992.

The 91st IOC session was an event of special importance to the Olympic movement for it discussed problems pertaining to the cardinal principles underlying the Games, the most acute problem of all being their professionalization and commercialization.

The world's sporting public has always been firm in its opposition to the idea of making the Olympics open to professional athletes. The non-professional nature of the Games is recorded in the final document of the Olympic congress held in Baden-Baden in 1981.

However, under pressure from TV companies, sports equipment manufacturers using professionals to advertize their products, and from a number of Western countries, international sports federations came to permit the practice of mixed contests and to insist on pros being allowed to take part in the Olympics. Their arguments are that this would add to the visual appeal of the Games, increase TV audiences, make the Olympics the "quintessence of world sport," and so on.

There were those who said that the admission of professionals would establish "equal parity" between athletes from the Western and socialist countries. Parity is beside the point. The attempts to draw professionals into amateur sport manifest, above all, the hankering of big business for still higher cash returns from sporting events and for the accelerated commercialization of sport.

Today all countries—large and small, industrialized and developing—are equal before the flag bearing the five Olympic rings, which symbolize the five continents. The participation of professional athletes in the Olympics will put Third World teams at a disadvantage vis-à-vis those from countries more advanced in sporting.

There are forces, however, that insist that professional athletes be admitted to the Olympics. Those who want the Olympics professionalized consign to oblivion the motto of Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic movement: "The important thing is to take part rather than to win."

Professional athletes are actually beyond the control of sports federations and bound hand and foot by contract terms. Commercial TV companies, which make fabulous profits on live telecasts of the Olympics and the most popular world championships, begin to dictate their terms to the sponsors—specifically to have them conduct sporting events at TV peak hours rather than at the time of day convenient for the athletes. This is why a number of events in the 1988 Olympics in Seoul are to be held not in the evening as is usually the case but in the daytime and even in the morning so that the American ABC TV company can telecast them live at what will be peak viewing hours in the U.S.

We have already become accustomed to the venues for sports competitions being plastered with advertisements. The revenues from them are often used in a good cause—the promotion of ice hockey, for instance. Olympic venues have so far been spared legends irrelevant to sport. It is to be hoped that things will remain that way.

Many speakers stressed that professionalization would undermine the principles of the Olympic movement and create the danger of a "chain reaction." The overwhelming majority of IOC members objected to the so-called "athlete's code" which widely opens the door of the Olympics to pros, and so this document was removed from the agenda. Proposals to

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Vitaly Smirnov, Chairman of the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport, Russian Federation, took part in the latest, 91st, session of the International Olympic Committee. Deputy chairman of the 1980 Moscow Olympics organizing committee and onetime Vice-President of the International Olympic Committee, Vitaly Smirnov is now a member of the IOC Executive Board and heads the IOC's commission for the programme.

amend the rules regulating the status of the amateur athlete were found to be in need of more thorough preparation, and discussion of them was therefore suspended.

Nevertheless, the session adopted a decision which affords professionals wider access to the Olympics. The decision applies to several federations which unite amateurs and pros alike, and is motivated by the need to take modern realities into account.

The session ruled that the summer Olympics of 1988 would be open to professional soccer players (as were the two previous Olympics) except for the Latin American and European teams that took part in world championships, qualifying matches included. The latter provision can hardly be regarded as a serious restriction. After all, European countries like Italy, France and Britain abound in professional soccer clubs.

In the field of ice hockey, another step was made towards professionalization. The Sarajevo Olympics admitted ex-professional ice hockey players only. As for the 1988 winter Olympics, any hockey pro will be free to take part. The International Ice Hockey Federation is to enter into the appropriate negotiations with the National Hockey League, which unites Canadian and U.S. professionals. However, the NHL's top players are hardly likely to abandon their clubs at the height of the season and rush to the rescue of the U.S. and Canadian national teams in Calgary.

From now on ex-professionals will be admitted to Olympic track-and-field and equestrian competitions. Olympic track-and-field events will be open to active professionals in other sports, American football for instance.

A peculiar situation is taking shape in lawn tennis. After a long interval, this sport has been put on the programme for the 1988 Games. The International Lawn Tennis Federation is full of professional players and draws no clear-cut distinction between amateurs and pros. At one time the IOC stipulated that the Olympics should be reserved for amateur athletes only. Nevertheless, the ILTF continued to push for the admission of top-paid players to the Olympics, and the IOC was hard put to resist the pressure. Professional tennis players may take part in the Olympics on condition that for the duration of the Games they "go amateur," i. e., stay away from paid tournaments and suspend their contracts. Will professionals accept these terms?

The Lausanne session favoured a harder line with regard to the ILTF and demanded that it should take a more constructive approach to the matter. Otherwise, including lawn tennis in the Olympics may become a big question mark.

Such were the IOC session's decisions, which offer professionals more room in Olympic sport.

Another problem of great concern to the international sporting public is doping. In pursuit of superlative athletic performances those who cash in on sport are prepared to go to any length, including the use of drugs damaging to the athletes' health, such as narcotics, beta-blockers and anabolics, pre-contest blood transfusions, and so on.

The IOC must be given credit for conducting thorough drug tests not only at the Olympics and other international competitions, but at domestic contests as well.

There are today 18 IOC-run laboratories fully equipped to indicate the presence of any stimulant in an athlete's system. These laboratories are as a rule headed by extremely skilled medical experts. The Moscow laboratory is headed by Vitaly Semyonov, a member of the IOC Medical Commission.

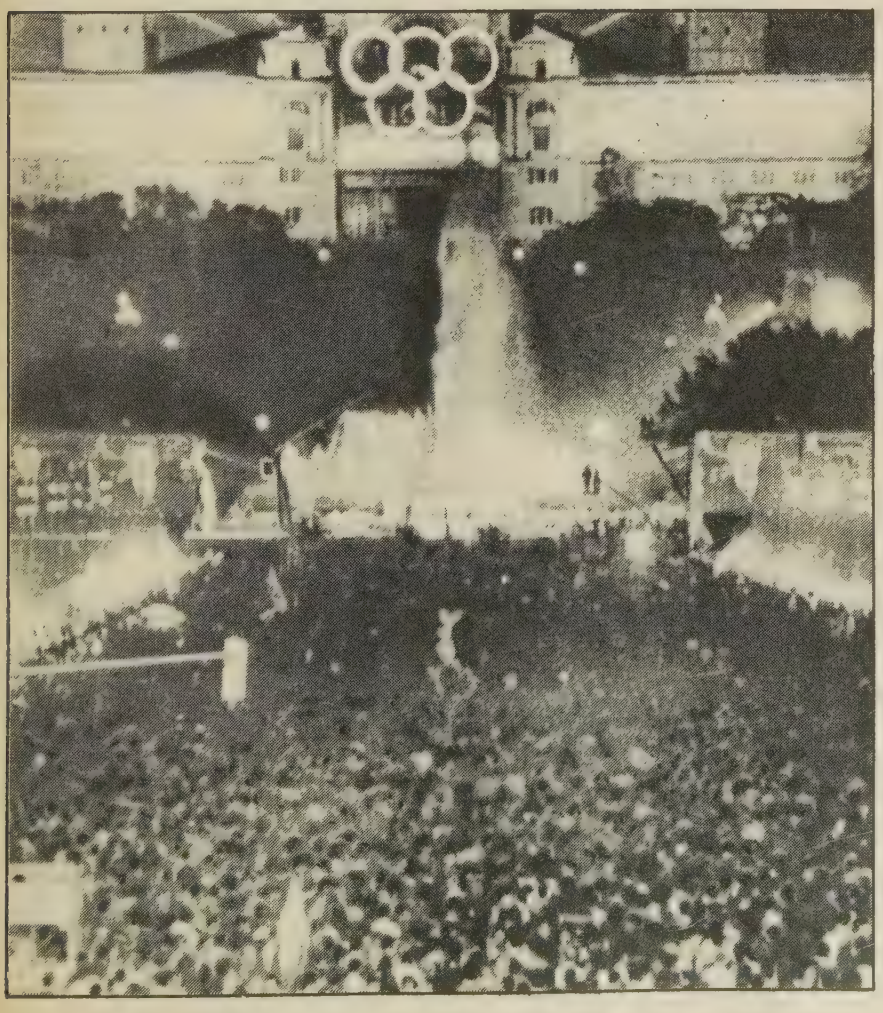
The 91st session extended the list of banned drugs to include diuretics which some athletes use to lose weight quickly, and others to purge their bodies of anabolics. Caffeine intake was further restricted.

Many questions relating to the 1988 summer Olympics remain unanswered. This is not only the question of the political situation in Seoul still being unstable. Juan Samaranch said that the IOC continued to tackle the problems connected with holding the Olympics both in North and South Korea. Sports officials from the D.P.R.K. and South Korea are to meet for talks. The IOC wants the final decision to be reached by September 1987, exactly a year before the Olympics begin. Seoul would like the situation to be cleared up by as early as next May.

And one final point. Three new members were admitted to the International Olympic Committee at its Lausanne session, bringing the number of national Olympic committees to 164. ■

Rejoicing in Barcelona at the news that the city has been chosen to host the summer Olympics in 1992.

Reuter-TASS photo



Wole Soyinka of Nigeria is the first African to win the Nobel Prize for literature

His Never-Ending Road

I first met him in Moscow last spring, when Wole Soyinka, President of the International Theatre Institute, came as a guest of the All-Russia Theatrical Society. His charm, wit, artistic manner, breadth and clarity of vision won him the affection of everyone he met.

Soyinka is a man out of legend. He is admired and slandered. He has been awarded international prizes (now the Nobel Prize for literature) and imprisoned. He is feared and lionized. Hating politicians, every now and then he gets involved in politics. They say that, being poet, playwright and actor, he cannot help making his own life a drama in which he plays the leading part. His life is indeed replete with dramatic incidents but he himself is reluctant to recall them. However, they crop up in his work and one sometimes has the impression that Soyinka's life story would read as one of his novels.

Soyinka, Africa's greatest living writer, conveys in his work the energy and daring of the battle against colonialism, the determination to achieve victory over it, the intensity and conflicts of the early years of independence and the turbulence of the periods of crisis.

His full name is Akinwande Oluwole Soyinka. He was born near the city of Abeokuta in western Nigeria on July 13, 1934. Abeokuta is one of the more remarkable Nigerian cities, still bearing the characteristics of a traditional centre of the Yoruba people.

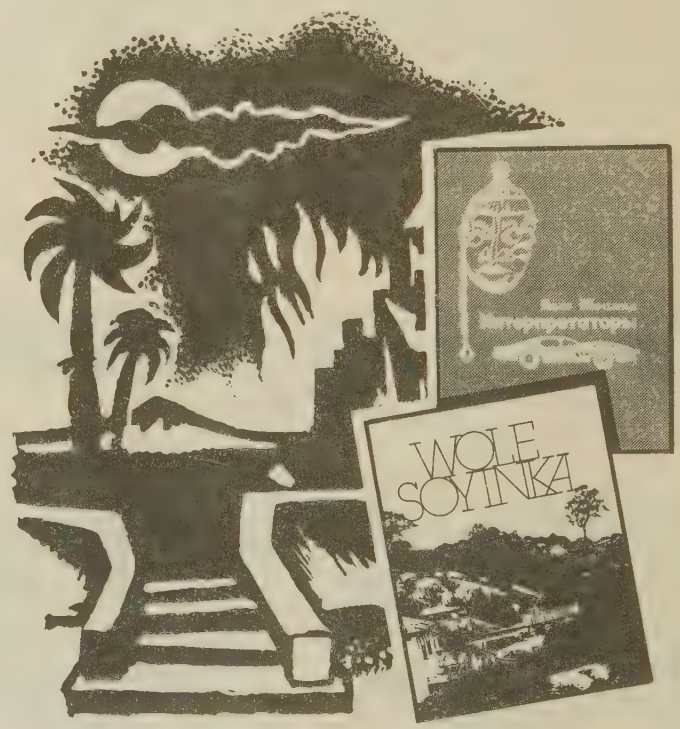
In 1952, Soyinka enrolled at Nigeria's famous Government College in Ibadan (now the University of Ibadan), attended by young people from all over the country. In 1954 he left for Britain and enrolled in the English language and literature department of Leeds University in Yorkshire. The young student developed a profound interest in the theatre. As well as becoming a regular theatre-goer, Soyinka read specialized literature extensively and studied the latest trends in writing, directing and performing plays. In the late 1950s he began to act and write verses and plays of his own.

In the early 1960s Wole Soyinka returned home and settled in the capital, Lagos. His sojourn there did not last long: he was attracted by the cultural life of Ibadan, where he founded his own performing company, The 1960 Masks. The company included recent university graduates, who had welcomed the idea of establishing a theatre and worshipped their gifted leader. The company's first production was "The Dance of the Forests," one of Soyinka's most fascinating plays, which puzzled theatre critics and exalted audiences.

The play was written for the Independence Day celebrations of October 1, 1960. Audiences expected the production to correspond to their buoyant mood—but Soyinka "deceived" them. He staged a tragedy in which dramatic scenes were interspersed with acerbic farce. He exposed the colonial past with its vicious atrocities, and urged the audience to pass judgement on it. Independence Day, he effectively said, should be a landmark in the process of renascence and cleansing not only of colonial oppression but also of every crime against morality and humanism.

It was the dawn of Nigeria's independent development, but the writer already sensed the threat of the arrogation of power by bureaucrats and the feudal aristocracy. He was afraid that an undemocratic regime might be established, under which independence would be merely a pretext for pompous celebrations to give the pillars of the "new society" an opportunity to parade in the limelight in their red cloaks astride white horses and flaunt their eloquence. Soyinka's sympathies lay with the man who voluntarily sacrifices himself, takes upon himself the sins of the people, and tries to stop fratricidal strife. In his work the artist is usually such a hero. Generally speaking, Soyinka views the artist as the chief figure in the new society: he is prophet, critic, jester and tragic hero. He tells the truth openly and sacrifices himself for the sake of the people, who more often than not mock him.

The production of "The Dance of the Forests" made Soyinka famous as a playwright, director and actor (he played a part in it) all over Africa. His fame continued to grow with every new publication and production. Soyinka began to experiment, producing plays in different languages, including his native Yoruba. Yoruba is a very melodious, lilting language. But, eventually, Soyinka decided to use English as his medium, trying to adapt the language to convey the values of folk culture.



The situation in Nigeria had greatly deteriorated by the mid-1960s. One political crisis followed another and the country was rocked by coups. In that stormy atmosphere a tiny spark could start a conflagration. Many people were aware of this, Soyinka more keenly than others: two major works which he wrote at the time, the play "The Road" and the novel "The Inter-

preters," breathed alarm and dark presentiment.

"The Road" is dominated by an atmosphere of chaos and almost absurd violence and lack of mutual understanding. Yet it is an attempt to come to grips with death in philosophic and artistic terms. Philosophic discourses on the meaning of existence, prompted by the political developments in the country, are related by Soyinka not only to systems of Western philosophy but also to Yoruba myths with their profound understanding of Man's role and place in the Universe.

The breath of the imminent storm is felt in every word of "The Interpreters" (published in the U.S.S.R. in 1970). Reality in that novel mercilessly invades the most intimate feelings of the characters, making them suffer and torture others. Bribery, corruption, kowtowing to foreigners, egoism, careerism, parsimony and hypocrisy are the evils that Soyinka's heroes are fighting—and some of them fall in that battle against heavy odds.

The political situation in the country continued to deteriorate. Riots broke out in the Eastern Region. The conspirators, backed by Western oil monopolies, proclaimed the region the Republic of Biafra and announced its secession from Nigeria. Soyinka tried to stop the bloodshed: he appealed to public opinion at home and abroad, published articles in the press and personally went to the rebel camp where he had many friends. In August 1967, as he later recalled, he was "lured out" of Biafra, arrested and groundlessly charged with "betrayal and spying for the rebels." Soyinka was imprisoned for about two years but hardships did not quench his creative energy. Although he was not allowed to write in jail, he composed poetry and a play, and started another novel.

He was released in October 1969 under an amnesty on the occasion of the anniversary of Nigerian independence. The civil war was over and Soyinka plunged into his work. He took the post that had been offered to him in 1967 as head of the drama and theatre department at the University of Ibadan.

Soyinka's first production after his release from prison was the play he had begun in jail, "Madmen and Specialists." It was an attempt to interpret artistically not so much the course as the nature and meaning of the civil war and its effect on the hearts and minds of people in the postwar period. He published some other works, all of them disturbing, poignant, full of pointed reminders of the war and expressive of the spiritual depression of the early postwar years.

In the years that followed Soyinka travelled extensively in Europe and America, producing plays and publishing books. Returning home, he again witnessed coups, corruption and predatory capitalist practices. He entered a new period of maturity as an artist, which was evident in his play "Death and the King's Horseman" (1975) and the autobiographical novel "Aké. The Years of Childhood" (1981). Soyinka's temperament had not been quenched, it had lost none of its explosiveness, but his passion no longer clouded his vision or obscured his horizons. Maturity had come but he continued his intensive quests.

The road is one of Soyinka's favourite symbols. "I have been on the road for as long as I can remember," he told his hosts in Moscow with a smile. His road was tortuous at the start and more than one new turn is likely ahead. He shows by his work that the traveller often leaves the highway for a path, then strikes out through the wilderness and dense forest to reach his goal. He walks barefoot on the dewy grass, dressed in tails, drives a car, then takes a boat and paddles upstream. He is always on the move, even when put in a solitary cell. There he becomes "A Shuttle in the Crypt," the title of his collection of verses written in prison.

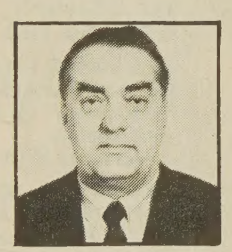
Wole Soyinka generously shares his "travel impressions." His gift attracts millions to the road, and anyone who takes an interest in Soyinka's travels will never leave his side.

Translations of poetry, plays and prose by Soyinka have been published in many collections and journals, as well as separate publications in our country. A large collection of Soyinka's works prepared by Raduga Publishers in the series Masters of Contemporary Prose will be put out in 1987. It will also include verses and plays to give the Soviet reading public a good idea of Soyinka's works.

In congratulating Wole Soyinka on being awarded the Nobel Prize for literature, we can be certain that it is only one step on the road of his life and work.

V. BEILIS

APPOINTMENTS



Gennady Vasilyevich URANOV
Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Ireland

Gennady Uranov, a Russian, was born in Moscow on September 22, 1934. A member of the CPSU since 1961, he graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1958. Gennady Uranov holds a Candidate's degree in history.

After graduation, he worked at the Foreign Ministry. From 1959 to 1961 he was on the staff of the Soviet embassy in Belgium, and from 1961 to 1967 he worked in the head office of the Foreign Ministry. From 1967 to 1972 Gennady Uranov was a counsellor at the Soviet embassy in Italy; from 1972 to 1975 he held executive posts at the Foreign Ministry; from 1975 to 1978 he was a counsellor envoy at the Soviet embassy in Italy.

From 1978 to 1982 Gennady Uranov was ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the Gabonese Republic. In 1982 he was appointed deputy chairman and then executive secretary of the U.S.S.R. UNESCO Commission. He is a member of the UNESCO Executive Board.

Gennady Uranov has been awarded the Order of Friendship of the Peoples, the Badge of Honour order, and a number of other Soviet decorations.

Yuri Yakovlevich MIKHEYEV
Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Laos

Yuri Mikheyev, a Russian, was born on July 7, 1930, in Moscow. In 1954 he graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in 1957 completed a postgraduate course at the institute. He holds a Candidate's degree in law. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1958.

Upon completion of his postgraduate course, Yuri Mikheyev worked as attaché, third and second secretary at the international organizations department of the Foreign Ministry. From 1961 to 1964 he was second, then first secretary at the Soviet embassy in Kampuchea. In 1964 and 1965 he was first secretary at the Southeast Asia department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1965 to 1986 he held posts of responsibility in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee.

Yuri Mikheyev has been awarded the Badge of Honour order and one more decoration.

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